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West Europe Report

No. 1800

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WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 1566

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SPD DELEGATE VIEWS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, DETENTE

Bonn VORWAERTS in German 13 Mar 80 p 10

[Article by Klaus Haensch, SPD delegate and member of European Parliament:
"Warning Light Indicates Change of Climate: CSU/CDU No Longer Isolated
in European Parliament"]

[Text] Current European Parliament discussions and resolutions clearly demonstrate its functions: To supply an early warning system of political shifts.

In the middle of February, a clear majority in the European Parliament recommended the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow. British Conservatives, who there call themselves "European Democrats," Christian Democrats, who there carry the name "European People's Party," and, naturally, Bangemann's liberals were dealing with crises in the same manner as children do in a sandbox: "See, I'm not going to play with you any more."

At any rate, at least six of the nine EC countries articulated their parliamentary majorities for the first time. A warning light flashed in the European Parliament, pointing to a serious change in the climate of some of the political parties in West Europe.

As a matter of fact, even before the Afghanistan crisis a shift was noticeable away from the policy of detente or, better, the policy of security and cooperation with East Europe. At the suggestion of Willy Brandt, the European Parliament is to participate in the preparation for the followup Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Madrid by conducting a large-scale hearing. This initiative was greeted with brumbling by both the right and the middle sections of parliament and it was supported only halfheartedly. At any rate, the conference itself has already been dismissed as being doomed to failure and as being superfluous.

The treatment of dissidents in the USSR, in Poland and the CSSR, which, without a doubt, is also a violation of the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki, is serving as a pretext for condemning the whole concept. Even before the aggression against Afghanistan, Christian-conservative circles in Europe felt that it was superfluous to encourage Americans to ratify SALT II.

The fact that the directly elected European Parliament is functioning as a warning light for climatic changes in West European parties must be taken very seriously. Their signal:

--German Christian Democrats are no longer alone with regard to their negative position concerning security and cooperation in Europe. They are in the process of ending the isolation which has hung over them for many years, separating them in this area from friends of similar persuasion. The British conservatives of Maggie Thatcher have become firm allies. The inclination toward detente among Italian, Belgian and Dutch Christian Democrats is showing serious signs of weariness. It complicates social-liberal foreign policy, particularly at a time when a common West European front is indispensable.

Handicapped by the Afghanistan crisis, two misunderstandings about the policy of detente are proliferating in the camp of the European Right and Middle. On one hand, it is seen as a matter that is primarily of German concern. Voices can be heard saying that, essentially, it is the vehicle for improving German-German relations. Thus, it has been of interest to the German nation rather than West Europe.

On the other hand, the policy of detente is misunderstood as a premium of good behavior for the Soviet Union and that in a simplistic political approach that is not easily outdone. As a consequence, it is now easy to replace politics with indignation, a dangerous substitute even at a time when indignation is justified.

All this clearly shows how shallow was the desire for detente on the part of many European parties. They never understood the basic concept of the policy of detente: A policy that seems most appropriately in the interest of security for the West European nations in a world of the highly-armed balance between the superpowers.

Especially Because of Sakharov, Havel and Afghanistan

It has already become evident: No boycott, whether it is an economic or an Olympic one, will get the Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. Of late, there are only two ways to move the USSR to reconsider: arms or words. The escalation of threatening gestures carries an incalculable risk. Whoever wants to avoid the great catastrophe will have to talk, act and negotiate again following the American elections, at the latest next year.

--With this in mind, the European Parliament has an important function as a clearing agency for the formation of political opinion in the forefront of European governmental policies. In the process, it is up to the German Social Democrats to enlist allies.

--It is in the common European interest to continue the policy of security and cooperation. Especially now, the contact points between East and West

must not be destroyed, and this in spite of Afghanistan, in spite of Sakharov, in spite of Havel and other happenings, but especially because of these events. It does not help Professor Sakharov or the Czechoslovak dissidents to express anger in the Western press about their treatment and at the same time destroy all chances for a dialog.

--We must help to formulate a separate European interest within the Atlantic Alliance. It does not help Afghanistan or serve our own interests in the Middle East to abandon in Europe the policy that has shaped this continent into a zone of relative stability.

--The policy of arms limitation and arms control must be continued, because military security in West Europe does not depend on mere numbers of tanks and rockets on our side but on the balance between East and West. This factor did not change after Afghanistan; it is the same as it was before.

--The development of the Third World must not be totally dependent upon the confrontation between East and West. A joint European policy must offset the dangers that are being brought on by the militarization of development policies. The community--the European Commission as well as the foreign ministers meeting within the framework of European political cooperation--will have to do a number of things to catch up.

One of these things, unfortunately, is the fact that the European Community waited until now to conclude the agreement with Yugoslavia. If it had taken place before Afghanistan, our policy would have been more credible. The situation in Yugoslavia was the same in February 1979 as it is now. The stabilization of Turkey was desirable and necessary a year ago as well. Today the European Community should turn its attention and resources increasingly toward India instead of contributing to a Super-Iran in Pakistan.

The European Parliament has the great opportunity to identify such positions as "European." It would by no means be in contradiction with the Western Alliance. Neither would it be a demonstration of neutralist muscle flexing. It would be a uniquely European contribution to the guarantee of peace.

8991
CSO: 3103

ACTIVITIES OF QUEBEC DELEGATE IN FRANCE REPORTED

Montreal LE DEVOIR in French 22 Feb 80 p 18

[Article by special correspondent Christian Charcossey: "Michaud: All the French Political Parties Share the Objectives of the Parti Quebecois"]

[Text] A large hotel in Montpellier, a university city located near the Mediterranean which is already very blue on this Friday 8 February. Yves Michaud, with his customary passion, is speaking there before 200 people assembled by the local University Gaullist Study Club, about the referendum and sovereignty-association. An arduous task before Frenchmen, even Gaullists, for whom it is sometimes difficult to understand that political sovereignty can very well exist on a par with economic association.

A few days later, this time in his imposing office on Pergolese Street, Yves Michaud explains the meaning of such lectures: "It's an in-depth operation. My role as general delegate is double: to explain to the French political authorities and to public opinion the objective of sovereignty-association and the arguments of those opposed to this plan."

"Without neglecting the first--aside from the president of the republic and the prime minister--I have met, separately, almost all the ministers of the French Government; the meetings which I have with numerous Frenchmen--especially outside Paris--permit me to develop the current of sympathy which Quebec has been able to establish for itself over many years. This is why I frequently go into the provinces, as recently to Lyon, to Aix-en-Provence, to La Rochelle, to Strasbourg."

"Since the official visit of Rene Levesque in November 1977, Quebec is no longer the object of an internal political debate in France. All the political groups respect the objectives of the PQ government. At the highest level of the state, in different styles, for Valery Giscard-d'Estaing does not resemble Georges Pompidou who was not the identical copy of General de Gaulle, I ascertain a remarkable loyalty in the continuity and a continuity in the loyalty. In all the spheres that I frequent I note a sympathy, a comprehension and especially a knowledge which was not to be found there several years ago."

"With the French authorities, we must show some imagination to develop new channels of cooperation. For the population basin--this is the case for the Franco-Quebecois Office for Youth which recruits trainees between 18 and 35 years of age--is not expandable on our end. This is why we are seeing to it that the programs concerning older people--neglected up to now--should expand."

But what most delights the former Liberal representative are the economic accords which have been signed at an accelerated rhythm for some time. "French enterprises show towards Quebec a concerned sympathy, in the good sense of the term. There exists no economic colonialism, for these accords aim much more at PME (small and medium businesses) and PMI (small and medium industries) than at large projects and very often it's a case of joint ventures."

Between now and the referendum, Quebec will be at the forefront of French news numberous times. A "Dossier Quebec" (Quebec Dossier) has just come out at Editions Stock and a volume is supposed to appear in a few weeks at Seuil' in the "Small Planet" collection, the first devoted to a not-yet-independent country.

"Dossiers de l'Ecran" (Screen Files), one of the most prestigious programs on the second channel of French television, will talk about the "Beautiful Province" during one of its weekly debates. The French press is also manifesting an interest which is growing as the referendum approaches.

On the political side, the annual meeting of the delegates general, at the beginning of March in Quebec, will set the global strategy of the government's foreign policy. No demonstration of any extent is foreseen, especially as the referendary law excludes the vote of Quebecois abroad.

"Won't you vote during this decisive popular consultation?" we asked Michaud.

"The service of the state sometimes necessitates great sacrifices," he retorted with a smile.

"I should be present in Paris the evening of the referendum to explain to French journalists the meaning of the result, whatever it may be. Perhaps, all the same, I will travel, at my expense and not at the government's, passing through the United States by Concorde, to accomplish my electoral duty and be at my post in time."

9508

CSO: 3100

NORDIC COUNCIL REFUSES TO RESTRICT AID TO PARTIES FROM ABROAD

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 7 Mar 80 p 15

[Excerpts] Following a lively debate, the Nordic Council decided Thursday not to begin a study concerning the possibility of prohibiting foreign support to political parties. The council rejected a proposal for such a study by 42 votes to 17 with 11 abstaining.

The proposal to study the possibility of stopping foreign support to political parties had been made by several conservative council members from Norway, Iceland, and Sweden. They justified their proposal by stating that it is unacceptable for a foreign power or foreign organizations or private persons to have the opportunity of giving economic contributions to national political parties and thereby being able to influence opinion in the country. Iceland recently passed a law that forbids such foreign support.

The Nordic Council's judicial committee asked for opinions from the various Nordic countries and finally concluded that "no need for the proposed type of prohibition has been documented."

For this reason, the committee decided to recommend that no action be taken on the matter. Minority opinions on the committee were held by a Danish member and Urpo Leppanen of the Rural Party.

When the matter came up Thursday morning to be decided at the ongoing session of the council in Reykjavik, it gave rise to a lively discussion. It was clear that there was much support for the minority view in the committee report. Among other things, reference was made to the need to prevent support to Danish parties from the brother parties in the large EG countries. It was also pointed out that it is undemocratic for foreign interests to have the opportunity of influencing party life in other countries. It was said that a prohibition prescribed by law would also have a preventive effect.

"A Waste of Resources"

The judicial committee was further accused of taking the matter too lightly. However, this was vigorously denied by the conservative Swedish council member Nils Carlshamre. He emphasized that the question was now whether it was proper to try to do anything about the matter on the pan-Nordic level. The committee noted that it does not seem possible to achieve a common Nordic practice in this area since the official views are so divergent. Regardless of whether one considers it reprehensible to have foreign support of parties or not, according to Carlshamre, it would be a waste of resources to begin a Nordic study in the present situation.

The vote, then, resulted in 42 votes for the recommendation to reject the proposal, 17 votes to approve the study, and 11 abstentions. It was noted that the opinions of the Finnish council members varied. The great majority agreed that there was no reason to undertake the study. However, Petter Savola of the Center Party took a position in favor of the proposal, while Elsi Hetemaki-Olander and Sinikka Karhuvaara abstained.

9336

CSO: 3109

BRIEFS

AUSTRIAN-FINNISH TRANSIT AGREEMENT--On 25 March a road transport agreement between Austria and Finland was signed in Vienna. "This new government agreement will replace an administrative agreement that was no longer adequate for modern requirements. In future, the new agreement will provide the basis for the quotas that the sides will grant one another in the fields of transit goods road transport and commercial passenger transport by bus. The transit goods road transport quotas are to be fixed by the competent authorities of the contracting parties. Passenger transport will not require permits as long as such bus trips originate from the territory of the other contracting country." Both sides expect this agreement to result in an intensification of their bilateral economic relations. Austria, moreover, hopes that it will help ease the strained situation on its transalpine transit roads. [AU261451 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 26 Mar 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 3103

'TO VIMA' DETECTS CHANGE IN CYPRUS GOVERNMENT POSITION TOWARD TALKS

AT301835 Athens TO VIMA in Greek 30 Mar 80 p 6 AT

[Article by Man Ploumidis: "The Cyprus Problem in a New Phase"]

[Excerpts] It is possible that these days a new phase will begin for the Cyprus problem, and especially for efforts to find a solution to the problem.

It concerns the phase that is envisaged and suggested by the resolution of the last (34th) UN General Assembly which stipulates that: If at the end of March the secretary general ascertains that "no progress has been made" in the Cyprus problem, then he will refer to the chairman of the assembly and he in turn, with the authority given to him in this instance by the General Assembly, will form a committee consisting of a maximum of seven assembly members which, in cooperation with the secretary general, will assist in the intercommunal talks and, if necessary, will suggest a solution which it considers appropriate for the problem.

Now that March is expiring and the method of forming the committee approved by the General Assembly through a majority of 99 votes, chances are that the committee will not be formed because of various pretexts, and the secretary general's efforts will continue for the resumption of the intercommunal talks; or chances are that a committee will be formed but with the certainty that it will not obtain the approval and consent of all factors of international political society as represented in the United Nations and that consequently its work will not be effective.

Because of the direction the affair of the General Assembly committee may take and because of the deadlock into which the Turks through their intransigence are leading the intercommunal talks--the initiative for which was taken by the UN secretary general--not only are the talks in danger of stagnating, but the Cyprus problem itself.

However, in the wake of all these things prospects for the Cyprus problem should not be desperate. The international and local circumstances within which the problem is developing will not remain unchanged and

opportunities will present themselves for the best possible solution provided Cyprus Hellenism manifests the necessary flexibility--we would even say realism--and ability to benefit from the opportunities.

There are samples for such a development in the stance of Cyprus Hellenism's leadership. Proof of this is in a speech that was given about 20 days ago in Athens by an official and responsible Cyprus personality on the Cyprus problem and on how Cyprus Hellenism deals with it. It concerns the speech of Al. Michailidis, speaker of the Cyprus House of Representatives, representative of the party established by President S. Kyprianou and, according to the constitution, deputy president of the republic during the president's absence.

Three points will occupy us from this interesting speech. The first refers to a general evaluation that "time is working against the correct solution of the problem" because it makes permanent the de facto partitionist situations created by the occupation with the danger of turning them into faits accomplis. This evaluation was not also supported by Cyprus, and as an extension of the absence of this evaluation certain circles in Cyprus and Greece supported the viewpoint that despite any search for a solution, it would be preferable to maintain the current situation until better opportunities could appear in the future. The judgment Michailidis has made makes the search for a solution imperative and constant, and makes constant activity necessary, so that there will be no missed opportunities.

The second point concerns the method of negotiations. The speaker of the Cyprus House of Representatives said that the negotiations should not be entangled in the "search for labels." Yet until a short time ago "labels" played a substantive role in the negotiations. In a period when the term "bizonal federation" did not have the meaning the Turks currently give it, the Greek Cypriots were fighting against the term, whereas they should have been discussing its content and substance--and not only regarding this "label" but many other things where activity should be occurring so that opportunities might not be lost on the substance, and not on the formalities, the appearances and the origin.

The third point refers to the pressures that must be exerted on Turkey. Perhaps this is the point where realism retreats to embarrassment. In view of the inability to find other methods of pressure the demand is being reiterated to make the international aid that is currently being given to Turkey dependent on Turkish concessions in the Cyprus problem, and it is being forgotten that the aid which is being given to Turkey at this time by Western powers is given to it precisely because these powers consider it "correctly or incorrectly" an important ally in international antagonism, and for this reason they are not at all prepared to link their aid to the Cyprus problem. After all, it is for this very same reason, international antagonism, but for opposite causes that Soviet favor toward Turkey is so manifest. The correct

assessment of things should lead to the conclusion that Turkey is not collapsing, nor on the eve of disintegration, and on the basis of this assessment methods and means should be sought for the correct and just solution of the Cyprus problem regarding which one more prerequisite must be added to the other priorities: the internal unity of Cyprus' Hellenism.

CSO: 4908

ENERGY MINISTER: TOO MUCH SPENT ON GREENLAND URANIUM HUNT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Feb 80 p 11

[Article: "Millions for Uranium Hunt in Greenland"]

[Text] Thus far uranium deposits have been found in Greenland sufficient to keep eight nuclear power plants in operation for their whole lifetime, states a report Energy Minister Poul Nielsen has sent to the Folketing finance committee.

Regardless of the decision to postpone introduction of nuclear power in Denmark everything favors maintenance of uranium activities in Greenland, the report goes on to say. The energy minister has asked the finance committee for approval of 2,871,000 kroner for the 1980-1982 period for detailed uranium exploration in the environs of Kvanefjeld in Greenland. One half of that amount is counted on to be covered by EC subsidies, the remainder from the Riso experimental budget.

The uranium prospecting project includes detailed gamma prospecting of the so-called Ilimaussaq complex, and a zone 5 to 10 kilometers wide around the complex. This is an area around Kvanefjeld. Ilimussaq has not previously been explored in detail for uranium. The area has been estimated to be particularly interesting from the uranium geology point of view.

Energy Minister Poul Nielson writes in his report to the finance committee that in coming decades an increasing pressure upon global uranium resources must be expected. If at a later date the decision is made to introduce nuclear power in Denmark, Greenland's uranium may perhaps prove to be a prerequisite to implementing the decision. In addition, in the gobal resource problem it is regarded as in Denmark's interest that all countries to the necessary extent determine and develop the resources at their disposal, states the energy minister's recommendation to the finance committee.

11256
CSO: 3106

GREENLAND EXPORTS INCREASE 33 PERCENT IN YEAR, SET RECORD

Godthab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 14 Feb 80 p 12

[Article: "Greenland's Exports Rose by 33 Percent From 285 to 380 Million Kroner"]

[Text] Preliminary figures for KGH's [Royal Greenland Trade] exports in 1979 point to a record year. Total exports amount to 380 million kroner as against 285 million kroner in 1978. This amounts to an increase of 33 percent. Managing Director Jens Fynbo of the KGH points out, however, that these are preliminary figures. The final figures will be available at the next meeting of the KGH board of directors, to take place in Greenland in the spring.

"It is worth noting that sales rose more in value than in volume. In other words, we have been able to increase prices without losing sales," Jens Fynbo comments.

Value Increase in Exports

Exports of shrimp are primarily responsible for increasing the value of Greenland's products. Frozen shrimp alone accounts for 40 million kroner of the increase, and shell shrimp for 13 million kroner. Canned shrimp shows an increase of 4 million kroner, Greenland rolls plus 5 million kroner, salted fish plus 22 million kroner, and fur sales plus 4 million kroner.

Cod Fisheries

Greenland cod fisheries showed an increase in catches of 8,951 tons, from 30,270 tons in 1978 to 39,221 tons in 1979, a 30 percent increase.

Local fisheries account for the great increase, catches increasing particularly in southern Greenland and Paamiut. The increases came mainly in the bottom net fisheries. The large catches put a great strain on salting and processing plants in southern Greenland, and capacities were in several periods altogether too small.

Shrimp Fishery

Shrimp catches rose from 12,461 tons in 1978 to 13,216 tons in 1979, an increase of 14 percent.

The amount of sealing products also showed nice increases. Thus the seal skin supply rose from 1978 to 1979 by 12.5 percent, from 71,075 skins in 1978 to 79,953 skins in 1979.

11,256
CSO: 3106

GENERAL GERBER CRITICIZES DE MAIZIERE REPORT ON BUNDESWEHR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Mar 80 p 6

[Report on interview with military expert Maj Gen Johannes Gerber, by Adelbert Weinstein: "The Bundeswehr Lacks Vitality and Flexibility"]

[Text] Koblenz, 11 March. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has once again drawn the German population's attention to the Bundeswehr's role as an instrument of preventing war. If increased effectiveness is presently being called for not only by the political top echelon of the Ministry of Defense but also by the military leadership, this is in accord with strategic necessity. "But the question is where the emphasis belongs in upgrading the quality of the Bundeswehr. As a military practitioner who has been with the army from its beginnings, I would advocate a reform of the internal structure." So said Maj Gen Johannes Gerber, deputy commander of the III Corps, to the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG.

"After the Bundeswehr's 25th anniversary it would appear appropriate to rethink systematically the structure of our national defense. But reforms in the military area tend to get stuck unless they are conducted on three fronts: organizational reform, budget reform and management reform." Any routines which have become set in concrete during 3 decades should be eliminated. "The missing ingredient in the Bundeswehr apparatus is vitality. An organization consisting mainly of young people must not be allowed to drag itself into the 1980's on crutches of obsolescence."

Corps and Division

It seems that the defense minister has entrusted a former chief of staff of the armed forces with the task of determining how to go about reducing bureaucratization and excessive regimentation. The commission, which for several months had gone over the armed forces with a fine toothcomb, has submitted its report and deliberations have been going on for several weeks on how to translate the recommendations into practice. But, warned Gerber, the so-called "De Maiziere Report" should not be used as a basis for making structural changes. "The report is wrong in its basic approach. The "Com-

mission for Enhancing Leadership Effectiveness and Decision-Making Capability in the Bundeswehr" has restricted its investigations to the division level. But within NATO, the major national operational unit in all ground forces is the corps; the deterrent and defense concept of the allied forces in the Central Europe sector is based on neighborly cooperation of the various national corps." Three German army corps, two U.S. corps and one each from Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands are stationed side by side between the Elbe and the Alps. "Therefore, the corps must be the starting point for any conceptual, operational and administrative consideration. The commission either overlooked this or has failed to comprehend it."

The report states that there is a need for 127 important individual measures to be taken toward improving the Bundeswehr structure. As a military leader who had spent many years as an economist dealing scientifically with problems concerning the economic and administrative organizational problems of the armed forces, Gerber commented: "A total of 127 deficiencies, no matter whether they were identified through a misunderstanding of the task or through poorly developed investigational procedure, or were simply unavoidable because events were overtaken by the time factor--such deficiencies cannot simply be corrected by enumerating them." Unless an overall creative concept were to be formulated, the armed forces would, by complying with all the suggestions contained in the De Maiziere Report, merely rush from one "reform" to the next. "But this 'quick-fix' activity would hardly change matters at all." Besides, in the opinion of General Gerber, the choice of the commission chairman was not an altogether fortunate one. "As a onetime army chief of staff and chairman of the joint chiefs for many years thereafter, he bears part of the responsibility for the existence of so many severe deficiencies in the structure of the armed forces."

Returning once again to his initial criticism of the commission's report, Gerber said; "Results of Bundeswehr practice have shown that there has been continuous growth of the army corps stature within the Central European deterrent and defense forces. Most of the innovative methods for weapon system utilization were implemented at corps level." It was always the corps which promoted "progressive evolution"--whether this consisted of the use of helicopters); or of improvements in long-distance communications network into an automated network); or of the availability of tactical nuclear weapons.

But none of this was mentioned in the commission's report. And this means that within the armed forces themselves the tendency would persist to look for deficiencies where they had become evident to most people long ago--at division level.

But deficiencies in organization a lack of flexibility and leadership bogged down in paperwork in this technological century signify, from the military standpoint, deficient operational planning. Operational considerations, for instance, have not yet gained the insight that the population of an industrialized state can be wiped out without resorting to nuclear warfare.

"All that needs to be destroyed is the infrastructure and the logistics--in other words, the strategic subsistence system--and a nation can cease to exist for historical purposes."

Most military leaders' operational concepts, he continued, and those of politicians who listen to their advice, continue to be determined by manufacturing efficiency and equipment technology.

A Need for New Structural Concepts

"Technological miracles are squeezed into existing structures. Greater importance is accorded to technical know-how than to organizational format and to tactical employment possibilities of weapon systems."

He denied being opposed to weapons modernization nor to the great number of innovative systems. "But the organizational pattern must grow intellectually along with these new achievements." Also, the psychological approach to technology, the process of familiarizing the young people of our pluralistic society with weapons technology, requires improvement.

"The new instruments confront the member of the armed forces with greater challenges than was the case previously. In return, he is given greater latitude than his preceding military generations. But the young soldier must be told also that technology is the product of the human intellect. Weapons technology must therefore be considered to be a continuous intellectual challenge." He who faces up to the technological element and who maintains the operational readiness of weapon systems under his care with discipline and intelligence must simultaneously recognize the necessity for updating military technical equipment. "But the forcible continuous updating of all weapon systems results in continuous personnel upheavals." Anyone advocating "stability" in armed forces personnel is simultaneously advocating the end of the strategic mission: deterrence.

However, he continued, unlike equipment, weapons or systems, human "regeneration" in the armed forces, i.e. the replacement of one soldier with another, is determined by firm age limits. These thoughts, Gerber said, automatically led him to the problem colloquially known as promotion and utilization freeze. "This poses a separate problem for the Bundeswehr. If there is a requirement for improving or changing the internal structure of the armed forces, it exists right here in the personnel sector."

Since there is a surplus of captains, there is talk of a captains' "hump." But eliminating the captains' hump through promotion predisposes a majors' and lieutenant colonels' hump. In actual practice, this has fateful consequences. "Some of the younger officers are more concerned with promotion than they are with the military mission." One could not really blame them for this. There is also a great lack of role models. "By their bizarre deportment, some generals who want to attract attention often are much more in the public eye (also that of their superiors) than those who quietly do their jobs."

Mission Tactics

In Maj Gen Gerber's opinion, the armed forces also have a problem concerning adherence to, and indeed reverence for, so-called "mission tactics." This term signifies a leadership method which evolved from German military traditions. It is said that this method leaves a certain inner independence to the soldier despite his being a part of well-defined hierarchic society. Confidence in the leader concerned is considered to be a prerequisite for mission tactics. "But this is mostly theoretical. In practicing mission tactics, there is competition among several hierarchies of this bureaucratized army: the administrative hierarchy, the judicial hierarchy, the technological hierarchy and the military hierarchy." Another obstacle for mission tactics, he continued, is the strong position accorded to defense ministry experts by joint federal government rules. Section chiefs, he said, wield their influence as they please, regardless of competence. "Their lust for power often goes so far as to let them demand execution of senseless orders from the military units. But power without responsibility corrupts." If indeed the internal structure calls for reform, it should be in the area of these competing, multilayered hierarchies.

Centralized research and centralized management do of course require a bureaucracy. But the bureaucrats should not have the possibility of hiding behind their "Secret" stamps. Failures on the part of administration should also be punished in a recognizable manner.

9273

CSO: 3103

ADMIRAL DISCUSSES NAVY REARMAMENT

DW021232 Bremen Radio Bremen Network in German 1630 GMT 1 Apr 80 DW

[Interview with Admiral Ansgar Bethge, new inspector of the Federal Navy, by Correspondent Ruebsaat; place of interview not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Your predecessor, Admiral Luther, on his retirement Wednesday stressed that the navy will continue to live up to its mission. In saying this he mentioned as its primary mandate the securing of the Baltic Sea accesses and of the country's own coasts. But in these troubled times it may well be that the navy will be confronted with new tasks, for example, when the Americans and British dispatch more ships to the Indian Ocean.

[Answer] In the future, too, nothing will change with respect to the fundamental tasks assigned to the Federal Navy within the Bundeswehr and, in turn, within the framework of the alliance. Safeguarding the Baltic Sea exists continues to rank priority. Of equal importance aside from that is the securing of the North Sea and the Skagerrak as the link of the Central European area with the northern flank.

You mentioned the possibility of assigning extra tasks to the Germany Navy as a result of an additional deployment of units of the U.S. and British navies in the Mediterranean or in the Indian Ocean. This is possible indeed. No concrete demands have been raised for the moment, though. But it may well happen that we will be called upon increasingly to fill up with our own navy a vacuum that may emerge in our area of the North Sea and the Arctic Sea. This will be discussed in good time.

[Question] No matter whether or not such requirements occur tomorrow or the day after, the principal problem remains the question concerning the modernization of the navy. I read in a journal recently about ill aged destroyers, seven withered frigates, but also about a few dozen small but highly modern combat ships. In what way will a rearmament need to be carried out? Do we need ships, and if so what type of new ships; do we need other ships perhaps after all? What I mean is smaller, more mobile units instead of big tubs?

[Answer] Equipment for the navy depends on the development of the threat. We are aware that the potential adversary is investing a great deal in naval armament for the development of new arms, for achieving the qualitative level of the West and, whenever possible, for exceeding the West in terms of quantity. We must keep abreast of this development and decided on the construction of six new 122 type frigates. The first frigate, having been the type-designating ship, was christened the "Bremen." As you said quite appropriately, the component of those units slated for the Baltic Sea mission meaning primarily the motor torpedo boats, has been modernized. There we have 30 highly modern, missile-carrying boats, and another 10 will follow in the eighties.

On the other hand, it is also true that compared with our Baltic Sea component the part of our navy assigned to missions in the North Sea and adjacent waters is obsolete. For this reason the four destroyers which still saw action in the U.S. Navy during World War II, the Fletcher destroyers, must be replaced; but so must the first units built by the Federal Navy, namely, the frigates of the Koeln class which, after all, are the products of concepts devised in the fifties and which, naturally, no longer measure up to the new threat situation with regard to their technical design, their armament and their navigation systems.

[Question] What do you think is the general trend in naval development, away from the large ships and toward smaller units, including more submarines? Or how do you see the development in general?

[Answer] Naturally, I speak here in the name of the German Navy. The size of the ships and the equipment of the ships are tailored solely to the threat and the assigned mission, taking into consideration the geographic and hydrographic conditions in our operation area. In the course of these considerations we have decided to stick to the types of boats, that is to the submarines and the motor torpedo boats, we have in the Baltic, because they can develop greater effectiveness there than frigates or destroyers, for example. For broader naval areas with very bad weather conditions lasting for long times in the year in the North Sea, we need a bigger type of ship, but not as big as the British and the Americans build them. They are being built for use in the greater Atlantic and for longer periods of overseas service and naturally we do not need them. So we believe that with the 3,000 tons 122 tape frigates we have exactly the right size of ship and we know that the alliance partners have embarked on that way also. The frigate is NATO's standard type of ship.

[Question] Modern high efficiency ships also require highly qualified sailors and not merely on the bridge either. Now do you assess the navy's state of training, and what still needs to be done?

[Answer] In the numerous maneuvers with our friendly navies we have found over and over again that our sailors' state of training is particularly high. So this part is rather satisfactory. The length of time spent by our sailors in the service is still insufficient. We simply need noncoms who do not serve for merely 2 years, but for 4 or possibly 6 years,

so that they will enjoy longer training periods in order to handle and take care of the very complicated technology, and so that they will gain experience in the use of these arms systems on board.

I hope, however, that we will come somewhat closer to that aim by taking proper measures. We are very, very much interested in improving the climate--if I may put it this way--of our units on board and of the units ashore wherever possible. I have just read the report of a Bundestag deputy who was very content with the morale on board. He writes, among other things: I must note with praise that the officers have obviously motivated their crews in an excellent way to implement their mission.

But we cannot be content with this. We must provide quarters, which are important for our sailors, in a way they are used to. Our destroyers of the Fletcher class which are being launched now, unfortunately, are not a good example. But the 122 class frigates will be much more comfortable.

CSO: 3103

OFFICIAL VIEWS PROSPECTS FOR FRG-GDR TRADE

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 7 Mar 80 pp 16-18

[Text] The overwhelming majority of the FRG's exhibitors at this year's Leipzig Spring Fair expects new secured contracts with the GDR. More than ever, trade between the two German nations is in full swing, notwithstanding the Afghanistan crisis and the confrontation of the superpowers. After 2 1/2 lean years, inner-German trade experienced a boom in the second half of 1979. In all probability, in 1980 the total exchange of goods (purchases and deliveries) between the FRG and the GDR should exceed the 10-billion mark limit for the first time.

The prospects are favorable: In January 1980 alone, the FRG supplied goods valued at 368 million marks to the GDR. This was 35 percent more than in January 1979.

At the present time, FRG businesses are making bids for capital goods contracts from the GDR which alone have a total value of 3 billion marks. The list of what is being offered includes foundries, chemical plants, direct reduction facilities for Eisenhuettenstadt, processing facilities in the steel sector, and granulating plants. In 1979, West German businessmen in plant construction were able to book GDR orders totaling over 300 million marks.

Thus, State Secretary Dieter von Wuerzen, who is in charge of inner-German trade in the Bonn economics ministry, anticipates a "relatively decent complete-plant business" for the current year as well. The volume of the offers submitted shows, Wuerzen said to the WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, "that something is in the cards here."

Despite a decline in the first half of last year, that year still had brought the firms in the FRG an increase in their deliveries to the GDR vis-a-vis 1978 of 7.1 percent, to 5.093 billion marks. Especially optimistic expectations for 1980 are being entertained by FRG exhibitors in the branches of vehicle manufacture, heavy machinery, as well as household chemicals, cosmetics, and pharmaceuticals, as a poll of the Federation of Chambers of German Industry and Commerce (DIHT) revealed.

For the medium term as well--up to 1985--the majority of the about 800 businesses from the FRG and West Berlin which are participating in the fair beginning on Sunday, on 20,700 square meters of booth area, are anticipating increasing or at least unchanged sales in connection with their GDR deals.

For 1980, the GDR is aiming at an expansion of its deliveries to the FRG of around 20 percent, inclusive of the price increases for GDR products. In 1979, the GDR foreign traders were able to sell goods for 4.792 billion marks in the FRG, 17.8 percent more than in the previous year.

Nevertheless, in the opinion of von Wuerzen they have not fully exploited the "good investment boom" in the FRG. Although the GDR supplied almost half again as much iron and steel, in connection with electrical products it lost 1 percent in comparison to 1978.

The state secretary finds it "astonishing that with its economic system, which in structure is really not so different from ours, the GDR cannot avail itself of this chance." He said that this is not likely to be the fault of a lack of good quality on the part of GDR products, even though according to East Berlin sources, goods valued at 3.3 billion marks are lying in GDR warehouses which were meant originally to be exported to the West but found no market here. Von Wuerzen also sees good changes for deals a la Salamander: This shoe manufacturer from Kornwestheim is supplying patterns and know-how and having GDR enterprises produce shoes for West German consumption.

However, the capacity of the GDR economy to supply exports to the West--and the GDR needs the foreign-exchange proceeds because of rising raw-material prices--is also greatly restricted because of the considerable delivery obligations it has toward the other member countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA), especially toward the USSR. Thus, about 80 percent of all railway passenger cars and magnetic tape stores manufactured in the GDR goes to the Soviet Union, and likewise 70 percent of all ships, 60 percent of all refrigerator trucks, 55 percent of the teleprinters, and 50 percent of all industrial machinery. Nevertheless--or rather precisely for this reason--GDR Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker is demanding "even more export goods" from the enterprises.

In the opinion of von Wuerzen, inner-German trade, which because of its exemption from customs duties and price adjustment levies is not always looked upon even by the EEC partners of the FRG without suspicion, is "harmed to a great degree" by those deals in which products from third countries--such as low-priced textiles from the Far East--are falsely declared to be GDR goods and in this way are smuggled into the FRG. In his Leipzig talks with GDR foreign trade minister Horst Soelle, von Wuerzen wants to discuss anew these smuggling operations within the framework of the quota policy.

The Bonn state secretary is less worried about cheating transactions in the West-East direction which perhaps many a trader wants to conclude in the future, and if so with the blessing of the GDR leadership: The circumventing of the American sanctions against the Soviet Union through deliveries via the GDR. Such transactions by blockade-runners could be stopped as soon as they reached conspicuous volumes. In this connection, von Wuerzen is counting on the powers of observation of his subordinates: "The officials who manage these matters are really not so stupid as that."

12114

CSO: 3103

TRADE OFFICIAL VIEWS EMBARGOES AGAINST USSR, IRAN

DW010918 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German to East and West Germany
0620 GMT 31 Mar 80 DW

[Excerpts from interview with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the FRG Industry and Trade Association, by Reporter Berg; place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] You have frequently stated that you do not consider economic boycott measures a proper political means. Are you not afraid the Americans, one of our most important trade partners, will take notice of the German hesitation, if I may call it that?

[Answer] Taking notice--well, my answer, and I believe the answer of the entire Germany economy, is that one cannot enforce political decisions with economic boycotts alone. They can play a part in the overall concept where politics naturally must play the main role, but they can have only a complementary effect. I do not accept the need for the economy, due to the lack of a political decision, or due to the lack of a political will, to step in, into a vacuum, so to speak. I believe that this alone will not create a change in the political situation.

[Question] But German economy is not supposed to stab American efforts in the back, so to speak, by filling the gaps that will appear.

[Answer] That is exactly the standpoint of the Federal Republic, and as far as I know also of the majority of German economic leaders.

[Question] The American President does not just fight on one front against Afghanistan, against the Soviet Union; simultaneously he has the unsolved problem of the Teheran hostage affair to cope with. A tougher course to be embarked on by the American President is in the offing. The tougher course could consist of the White House's announcing a total trade embargo against Iran--this is expected to take place this week. The Western allies and also the Federal Republic will be expected to maintain a noticeable restraint in trade activities and monetary business with Iran. Is this demand by Washington, which again was made with regard to the Western economy and the German economy, something you can adhere to?

[Answer] The news I have just heard sounds a bit different, because they have obviously had contacts again via the Swiss Foreign Ministry involving the hostages. But this case is an entirely different one. What I am concerned about is the violating of international law. Obviously the Iranian Government, regardless of which one, has not succeeded in rectifying this flagrant violation of international rules in any form. It seems as though the influence of the incumbent Iranian Government on the issue is not so great since otherwise the matter would have been settled long ago.

These people have been held captive since November, and I believe that it is clear to anybody that tougher measures need to be taken. Today it is U.S. hostages who are involved, tomorrow it may well be French or German hostages. This is a question of interest to the entire world, and to that end it is necessary to make it clear to the current Iranian Government that it must manage its own domestic problems. After all, this is why the matter [of the hostages] has failed so far. It is absolutely clear that even a man like Carter, who has been very patient, will lose his patience some day; the same ought to apply to the others.

[Question] If I understand you properly then, you are prepared to support him seriously in this effort?

[Answer] Begging your pardon, I cannot support Mr Carter.

[Question] But the Germany economy can.

[Answer] As is the custom, these things must always originate from the Federal Government, and I believe that it would meet with a positive echo in this instance. I repeat, it could happen to somebody else tomorrow, and to others the next day.

CSO: 3103

ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION RETURNS, MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 11 Mar 80 p 22

[Text] Muenster--The German Antarctic Expedition, which returned to the FRG over the weekend--two weeks earlier than planned--is hoping for a place of honor in the "Guinness Book of Records": "We are candidates for the record book, because never before in Antarctica has anybody penetrated so far to the west so rapidly as we have," said the 41-year-old leader of the expedition, Dr Heinz Kohnen from Muenster, upon his return.

In the opinion of Kohnen, the rapid execution of its mission to find a building site for the permanent German Antarctic research station could be attributed "to the tremendous effort of all the participants": "But we were also terribly lucky. Initially, when we were still seeking a building site, we had picture-book weather with sunshine and temperatures up to minus 8 degrees. Not until February did the Antarctic prove to us that even in summer it is no summer resort. The temperature dropped to minus 30 degrees." In Antarctica, the time between December and February counts as summer.

The building ground lies in the vicinity of Berkner Island (position: 77.09 degrees south, 50.38 degrees west). Following this, the expedition still had time to investigate a second site at Atka Bight in the region of "New Schwabenland" (position: 70.4 degrees south, 8.11 degrees west). "It must now be thoroughly discussed on which ground the permanent station is to be built," said Kohnen.

The expedition's doctor, Dr Norbert Klapdor from Duisburg, had "little to do." There was just a single scientist who suffered slight abrasions from an accident with a snowmobile.

Six scientists lived for 32 days in the "Filchner Station," a trans-container 10 square meters in area. The comprehensive scientific program (glacier research, weather, ice movements) also included the problem of how people behave in such a crowded space. The result: "There were no problems. After the lonely work on the ice, we were

even glad to be able to talk with each other in the evening." The expedition left the "Filchner Station" behind on the ice, and so that the spot is easy to find again for the construction team which is to build the permanent station at the end of this year, at the edge of the shelf ice an "F" (for Filchner Station) 3 meters long was constructed, made out of charred wood.

After a short period of rest, the participants in the expedition intend to meet with each other on 20 March in Bremerhaven, when their ship, the "Polarsirkel," arrives with the expedition's effects. "Then begins the great deal of afterwork," said Dr Kohnen. Several participants have already stated their interest in taking part in the permanent research station as well. And this is the case even though life in the Antarctic is very monotonous. "One can observe penguins, whales, seals, and birds, or do cross-country skiing."

The German scientists paid visits to their colleagues in the English station "Halley Bay" and in the Russian station "Druzhnaya." "Oddly enough, with the Russians there was whisky and the English had vodka," they noted.

12114
CSO: 3103

FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON RHINE MAY BE RESTRICTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 29 Feb 80 p 13

[Article: "Restriction of Freedom for Ships on the Rhine: Change of the Mannheim Convention Due to the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal"]

[Text] The canal connecting the Danube with the Main and thus with the Rhine, its tributaries and its connecting canal systems is supposed to be completed in the mid-eighties. For years Western inland navigators have observed the progress achieved in building this enormous project, in the course of which considerable differences in elevation have to be mastered, with both awe for the art of modern waterway construction and at the same time equally great and justified fears.

CEMA Ships on the Rhine

It is not only that Danube ships will be able to use the canal to get to the Rhine in the future, thus expanding the frequently excessive supply of loading capacity even further. If effective measures are not taken, the shipping companies of the CEMA countries in the area of the Danube, which are operated exclusively according to the principle of state-controlled economy, would be able to compete by unfair means with Western inland navigators operating on the free-enterprise market on the latter's own waterways and in their area of operations with good prospects of success.

It remains open to what degree the state-controlled shipping companies of the East would afford priority to the aim of earning Western foreign exchange when creating loading capacity over the profitability of their operations. It should be pointed out, however, that the mere facts of substantially lower wages for the ships' crews and lower wages for ship maintenance and repair work would allow them to offer freight rates which Western shipping companies could hardly compete with.

The West has long recognized to what degree the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal could jeopardize the continuation of navigation on the Rhine, above all, unless precautionary counter-measures are taken. Yet negotiations, which lasted for years, by the Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine,

including representatives of the governments of the nations adjoining the Rhine, of Belgium and of Great Britain, and the organizations of the navigation trade and the European Community (EC) were required, until agreement on a change of the Mannheim Convention of 1868 re. freedom of navigation on the Rhine was finally reached. The change is being provided by an Amendment Protocol to the Convention, which is pointed out by Dr Kurt Waldner, director of Harbors of both Basels, in his annual report 1979 (see NZZ No 45). The Protocol was signed in the fall of 1979; Switzerland and the signatories of the Convention will now have to ratify it.

Old and New Provisions

According to the original wording of the Mannheim Convention only the "ships of Rhine navigators" were permitted to transport goods and passengers on the Rhine. The Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 gave reason for a partial revision of the Convention, which extended the freedom of navigation to ships of "all nations." This provision is still valid. The above-mentioned Amendment Protocol will again limit admission to navigate on the Rhine River. This restriction, however, cannot go as far as the 1868 restrictions. With the exception of Switzerland, all signatories of the Mannheim Convention are members of the European Community. Respecting the obligation derived from the Treaty of Rome, the ships of all other EC nations are now to be granted the same rights as those granted to the signatories of the convention. Those ships neither under the flag of an EC nation nor under that of Switzerland, however, will be granted the right to transport goods between two locations on the Rhine and its tributaries only if the conditions set by the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation will be met. The transport of goods between one location on the Rhine and another location in the Danube area, however, is to be controlled by a bilateral agreement between the respective states.

Manifold Considerations

The new provisions governing Rhine navigation and the "visitors from the East," which will float across the mountain to the Main and Rhine Rivers, do not necessarily reflect simplicity. This may be understood if one remembers all those considerations to be taken into account: the area of friction of West-East policy; economic interests of the navigation trade; the authority of the Central Commission established as early as 1815 by the Vienna Convention to secure freedom of navigation on the Rhine; the claim to harmonize shipping in Europe set forth by the EC organs without being able to submit themselves to the seniority and competence of the Central Commission as far as the Rhine is concerned; deliberations on the wide area of the law of navigation, and much more. Whether the changes in the Mannheim Convention will serve their purpose will depend upon how the Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine will formulate its conditions towards the shipping companies of the Comecon countries--and whether it will be able to implement them.

9544
CSO: 3103

ASSISTANT EDITOR DISCUSSES NORDIC COUNCIL SECURITY POLICY ROLE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSLADET in Swedish 7 Mar 80 p 4

[Editorial by Henrik von Bonsdorff]

[Text] How is security policy to be treated in the future at the Nordic Council: will it be wide open or will there be demands for sharper discipline? This is a Gordian knot, which the council presidium and other proper authorities must now untie after the excesses at the session in Reykjavik, writes Henrik von Bonsdorff.

Nearly a quarter century ago in October 1955, when parliament approved the proposal for Finland's joining the Nordic Council, there was a clear reservation in the government's proposition. If the council, it was said, against the existing practice, should take up questions of military policy or questions that would lead to taking stands on conflicts of interest between great powers, then representatives from Finalnd should not participate in the treatment of these matters. To be sure, the foreign affairs committee expressed doubt as to the actual need for such a reservation. The same opinion was also expressed during the plenary debate with reference, among other things, to the advisory status of the council and to its composition. However, the reservation was approved, for the expressed purpose of preventing misunderstanding concerning the conditions under which Finland was participating in the council's work.

However, at that time experience had shown that discussions at the council's meetings had been primarily concerned with internal common Nordic problems. In practice, the participating countries had accepted, as a central precondition for the council's activity, the fact that with regard to foreign and security policies, the Nordic states had chosen to follow different paths. The line from which Finland's government feared deviations had therefore been established as existing practice.

Since then, and especially in recent years, the picture has changed. Questions of security policy have been taken up repeatedly and the squabbling involved has often attracted such attention--especially from the media--that the debate has been given a misleading lopsidedness.

However, in none of these cases has Finland's delegation refrained from "participating in the treatment of such questions." On the contrary: Finland's representatives have generally taken the initiative in the exchanges and criticized the security policy of neighbor countries with acrimonious statements in a propagandistic manner, which could hardly lay the foundation for an objective discussion at any assembly.

As we know, these troublemakers have come almost without exception from the ranks of the left, especially the far left. And for some reason they have generally chosen Norway as the object for their attacks. Aarne Saarinen provided a typical example during the 25 year anniversary session in Helsinki 3 years ago when he chose to express the opinion that the participation of a numerically insignificant West German medical corps in maneuvers in northern Norway constituted a "serious change" in Norway's policy on bases and nuclear policy. During the current meeting in Reykjavik, too, a number of members from the Finnish People's Democratic Party have distinguished themselves through sharp attacks against Norway, which they accuse of jeopardizing the entire Nordic balance as we have known it through its plans to store equipment belonging to the Western alliance on Norwegian soil.

One might ask what purposes such outbursts are intended to serve. When the speakers on the one hand state that they can perceive an aggressive threat from Norway against "countries that are outside the military alliance," and on the other indicate indirectly that the Norwegian government is deceiving us and in reality may intend to include nuclear material in the proposed arms caches which will be stored in Norway sometime in the future, then they are probably not acting in the interest of detente or Nordic understanding. On the other hand, they are presenting a distorted view of public opinion in our country. It is not always easy for outsiders to distinguish between the "truths" being peddled by the far left and those perceived by the majority of our responsible decision-makers and, presumably, by the majority of the people, as well. After all, Fkp (Finland's Communist Party) is represented in the government.

With good reason, Education Minister Par Stenback took issue with the communist interpretation and emphasized that "the uneasiness we all feel in Scandinavia is not at all characterized by any mistrust of Norway's intentions in the area of security." And he added, "We are convinced that, now and in the future, Norway will handle its security policy in a manner that will best serve the country's own interests and therefore also the interests of its Nordic neighbors." Prime Minister Koivisto spoke in the same vein. He emphasized the importance of open and honest discussions between the Nordic countries, none of which in his opinion were consciously out to increase tension in our part of the world.

If we leave open the present squabble, the unavoidable question arises of how future debates in the Nordic Council are to be treated. Many speakers in Reykjavik have already made clear that the former taboo on topics of security policy has proved untenable. In the long run, it is impossible to maintain a system in which some--in fact the majority, so far--attempt to

strictly observe the norms that have been agreed upon, while others consider themselves free to violate them as they see fit.

One solution would be simply to allow free debate. Strictly speaking, it is not unnatural for an assembly such as the Nordic Council, in today's international situation for example, to allow responsible people from member nations to present, in a constructive manner to their closest neighbors, their views and their problems. So far, however, the attempts made at security policy debate raise fears that such a debate could easily degenerate into bickering and a real free-for-all. A provocation from one side usually leads to insolent words from the other and thus to a meaningless spectacle.

Another alternative is to keep the rules for debate as they are now but to give the presiding officers power to keep the delegates in line. In Reykjavik, Prime Minister Koivisto and, among others, President of Parliament Guttorm Hansen have expressed the desire that the council, as before, should concentrate in principle on internal Nordic questions on which, as Koivisto says, there is relatively general agreement. Then again, this brings with it the risk that the council's activity will become so dull that it is perceived as having no teeth. Nor is the idea appealing that a council president up on the podium would be forced to assume the role of a kind of animal trainer with the task of using the lash on anyone who might break the rules.

In any case, the council presidium, its bureaucratic apparatus, and other responsible authorities stand before a Gordian knot, which preferably should not and probably cannot be undone by a simple slash by the sword of Alexander. Perhaps they will succeed in the usual Nordic manner in reaching a compromise, a way out of the difficulties that, so far at least, no one has been able to point out.

9336
CSO: 3109

CENTER PARTY, COMMUNISTS ATTACK KOIVISTO FOR NORWAY STAND

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Feb 80 p 8

[Text] Prime Minister Mauno Koivisto is being criticized by the Finnish Center Party as well as by the communists for his statement during an official visit to Sweden recently. They don't like that Koivisto treated so lightly the matter of the proposed storage of weapons in north Norway for 8,000 American soldiers.

Aarne Saarinen, the chairman of the Communist Party, took up the matter in parliament. He said that the Government of Finland and parliament has no reason whatsoever for minimizing the matter and looking upon things happening in Norway without concern.

The newspaper of the Center Party questions Prime Minister Koivisto's foreign policy insight. The paper points to the fact that President Kekkonen has warned about the situation which will arise in the north if Nato introduces missiles.

Mauno Koivisto explained his statement in Sweden in HELSINGIN SANOMAT on Wednesday. He said that he and Falldin agreed not to criticize Norway. The result was the eyebrows were raised in the Soviet Union.

6893

CSO: 3109

ALAND ISLANDS LEADER: WILL SEEK MORE INDEPENDENCE

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 4 Feb 80 p 15

[Article by Ralf Friberg: "Finnish Discussion about the 'Province' Aland's Self-Government"]

[Text] Helsinki: A quiet political tug-of-war is being carried out in Finland's only "colony," about the self-governed "province," the position and the rights of the island kingdom Aland.

The over 22,000 island inhabitants already now enjoy a far developed autonomy with their own parliament (landsting) and their own province government (landskapsstyrelsen), but the proposal for a new law which will regulate the relationship between the Finnish republic or "riket" [the empire], which it is called on Aland, and the province itself contains a large quantity of material for controversies.

The most sensitive question in this connection may acquire an international dimension. When Aland after World War I was given to Finland not to Sweden, by the League of Nations, the inhabitants on Aland received guarantees that their province would always continue to use Swedish as the sole language. Now landstinget's president says that Aland will ask for international help if the new self-government law does not clearly establish that the Swedish language has a monopoly position on the island. The president of the landsting threatens to turn to Sweden in the first round.

The nucleus in the language conflict concerns the demand that everybody who is granted Alan citizenship (hembygdsrett) must know Swedish. But the supreme court in Finland does not recognize this demand and has therefore invalidated an earlier administrative decision which the authorities on the Aland province itself took when they denied a monolingual Finn, who otherwise met all requirements for citizenship, permission to work and operate a business as a citizen of Aland.

Aland's attitude has also set a pattern within the Nordic Council. The province representative in the council participates in the Finnish delegation to the council meetings. If the Faroe Islands and Greenland should get independent delegations to the Nordic Council, Aland will certainly follow. The Aland representative in the council emphasizes his loyalty to the Faroe Islands.

One delicate question is also the Aland demand that the Baltic countries should have their status guaranteed again. In Finland one would prefer not to touch on the guarantee question, which is considered to have been settled, because it could lead to problematic connections, especially with the Soviet Union.

The Aland demand for their own stamps seems to be easiest to meet, but even this question has not been solved yet. Aland's demand that they be allowed to tax themselves or carry the red, blue and yellow cross flag on their commercial ships instead of Finland's blue and white raises strong irritation.

Aland is already now Finland's richest province with the greatest car density, a considerable merchant fleet of their own and flourishing traffic with passengers between Finland and Sweden. The Alanders do not have any conscription either.

The intensified tone in the debate about an expanded Aland self-government is partially due to the fact that the island kingdom's only newspaper, ALAND, is carrying out a very hard campaign in self-government questions. The newspaper reaches almost all households in the province. The Alanders have an "ambassador" in Finland since the constitution guarantees them a position in parliament. But if the conflict is to be avoided during the 1980's, it will probably be President Urho Kekkonen himself who must intervene. The Alanders find a great deal of understanding in the almost 80-year-old chief of state, especially because the big fisherman Kekkonen each summer has an opportunity to try to trick the pike on Aland.

8958

CSO: 3108

TO LESSEN DEPENDENCE ON USSR FOR ENERGY, COUNTRY LOOKS TO PEAT

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 28 Jan 80 p 6

[Article by Roy Helge Simonsen: "Finland's Answer to the Energy Crisis: Peat Power Stations"]

[Text] Tammerfors. The Soviet Union has a controlling handle on Finland's energy supply. Through the bilateral trade agreement between the two countries, up to 80 percent of the energy imported by Finland comes from the Soviet Union. However, Finland wants to make itself less dependent upon the imports from its big neighbor in the east. This is done, for one thing, by emphasizing the alternative energy sources which are located in the country. In 10 years the Finns hope to cover approximately 10 percent of their energy requirements with peat power stations.

Strong emphasis is also given to increased use of ordinary wood and waste from the industry for the energy production. Wood chips have been put to use a long time ago as a fuel. The Finns cover approximately 30 percent of their energy consumption from national sources, while the rest is imported in the form of oil, natural gas, coal, coke and electricity. Finland saved approximately 3 million tons of oil last year by using wood for heating.

Peat for 300 Years

Director Kai Vesterlund in the big Finnish company Ekono tells ARBEIDERBLADET that Finland has approximately 7 percent of the world's peat resources. "Only Ireland and the Soviet Union have anywhere near such large quantities. In practice the Finns could produce 50 percent of their energy requirement by means of peat power stations, but then the peat reserves would only last for 50 years. With sensible use of peat the resources may last for 300 years, that is, with an annual production of peat power corresponding to 10 percent of the country's energy requirement," says Vesterlund.

The goal is to produce 10 percent of the energy with peat in 1990. The import is to be reduced from a good 70 to 60 percent of the total energy requirement. The import reduction will significantly affect the import of gas and oil from the Soviet Union, which it is hoped will drop to 34 to 40 percent of the total requirement.

The Biggest in Tammerfors

As a consequence of the increasing oil prices, the Finns have put enormous efforts into research on the possibilities for using peat for heating and for producing electricity. The biggest peat power station so far lies in Tammerfors. The power station uses not less than 5,000 cubic meters of peat each day, and the peat is transported to the power station with trains and trailers from the peat cutting site approximately 100 kilometers away. It requires 24 railroad cars with peat daily to keep the power station in operation.

"The power station produces 60 megawatts of electricity and 120 megawatts of heating energy. This is enough to cover approximately 50 percent of the remote heat in Tammerfors city. The power station was placed in operation in October 1977, and so far we have only had good experience with the operation of this station," operating engineer Jarno Laitila tells ARBEIDERBLADET.

"The power station cost 210 million Finnish marks, or approximately 280 million Norwegian kroner. A corresponding oil-fired power station would cost only 140 million Finnish marks, but the Finnish experts expect to save in the investment over 20 years."

Half Price

Today 1 ton of crude oil costs approximately 1,000 kroner. According to the Tammerfors power station administration, the peat costs approximately 640 Norwegian kroner per ton of oil. The price is thus approximately one-half as compared to the use of oil. In addition to the purely economic advantages of using peat, there are also the purely environmental advantages. The power station in Tammerfors, which also includes an oil power station, extends over an area of approximately one acre. The discharge of sulphur dioxide is six times less in a peat power station than in an oil power station. The discharge is less than one-half of what is the case in a modern coal power station.

In addition comes the advantage that the waste when using peat is much less than when coal is used. Approximately 60 cubic meters of waste per day comes from the gigantic power station in Tammerfors. In addition, there is no need for large storage places for the peat.

The Finns are building a correspondingly large peat power station in Kuopio, and two other power stations are being planned. In addition, several oil-fired boilers are being converted to use peat.

The peat is cut in a 750 acre area located approximately 100 kilometers from the power station in Tammerfors. This is an economically justifiable distance. Besides, it is the government's fuel center which is responsible for the transport of the peat, both with trains and trailers. The power station gets the peat delivered to the area at a fixed price.

Less Dependent

Even though no politician is saying directly that the emphasis on alternative energy sources in Finland is for the purpose of becoming less dependent upon the Soviet oil, it is still evident that this is the reason. In the bilateral agreement between the two countries, minimum deliveries and maximum deliveries have been established. In recent days the Soviet Union has cut down the deliveries of natural gas to the absolute minimum, but they are still staying within the agreement. This is one of the main reasons why the Finns are now trying to get more legs to stand on in the energy supply.

The price of the Soviet oil is just as high as oil delivered from the Arabic states. The Soviet Union is following the market price which the OPEC countries establish. Still, the trade agreement with the Soviet Union is very advantageous for the Finns from a national economic point of view. The Finns are paying for the raw materials they import from their neighbor in the east with finished products, including 60 percent of the ship production in the Finnish shipyards.

With regards to hydraulic power, Finland has already developed most alternatives. Many power stations do not have a greater drop height for the water than between 5 and 10 meters. In 1977 Finland covered approximately 13 percent of its energy needs by means of hydraulic power, but in 1990 it is expected that this share will have gone down to 10 percent, to the same level as the peat.

8958
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PROBLEMS RESTRICT SOVIET TRADE EFFORT

Helsinki HELSINKIN SANOMAT in Finnish 4 Mar 80 p 22

(Article by Matti Pensala: "Poor Communication Hinders Further Purchases")

[Text] An export trend is clearly on the rise in the Soviet Union as that country begins to make its foreign trade more flexible and correspond better with practices being carried out in Western markets. Decisionmaking authority, among other things, has been given greater range and has been extended to the enterprises themselves. In spite of this, inadequate communication with industry complicates the cultivation of purchases from the Soviet Union.

The development of imports at this time is not a burning issue since the increased cost of oil has brought about a rather large trade deficit. On the contrary, it is difficult to find additional products from Finland's markets in order to cover the cost of oil. However, an attempt is being made on the part of the Soviet Union to increase purchases since the continuity of this trade does not permit periodic sudden stoppages.

However, the development of trade with the Soviet Union is not always without problems. Delays from time to time have caused us to lose confidence also with respect to maintenance and the delivery of spare parts.

"The clients of Western countries in particular adopt a cautious attitude toward subcontracts accomplished for the Soviet Union. Deliveries to the Soviet Union may become delayed since the necessary machinery or equipment does not arrive from there on time," states Market Director Hannu Eskelinen of the Wartsila Corporation.

Eskelinen's task is to coordinate Wartsila's trade conducted with the Soviet Union since representatives of various production associations must agree on the actual deliveries. Before his position with Wartsila Eskelinen directed the Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce in Moscow and worked as a trade counselor in the Finnish Embassy.

The consistent policy of Wartsila's central administration is to continuously develop purchases from the Soviet Union, "even though the task of keeping trade in balance does not belong to one single enterprise. Export enterprises

are export enterprises, and import enterprises are separate," thinks Eskelinen. In Finland the Koneisto Corporation specializes in the importing of products from the Soviet Union.

Information About Soviet Products Lacking

However, Eskelinen works hard to develop Wartsila's purchases from the Soviet Union. They are constantly looking for Soviet products which could be included in their offerings on the market.

However, this work does not always produce results. Recommended machinery and equipment may even lack technical specifications since designers are inclined to avoid them in fear of being late.

Another reason is a lack of information. Enterprises in Western countries practically throw material about their products at you. The same, on the other hand, is very difficult to obtain from the Soviet Union. It is not always known who makes what and where.

Bigness Is Favored

The Soviet Union is a land of large dimensions. It favors large series and willingly trades with large enterprises. They trust in them because they have power. "The organizations doing the funding are large banking associations so that the risks are considerably smaller than in conducting trade with small and medium sized enterprises," states Eskelinen.

Of Wartsila's exports approximately 90 percent is made up of ships, and the Soviet Union is the major customer. In addition to ships, the company is attempting to develop waste treatment machinery for the paper industry, rolling equipment, cutting and packing equipment, and diesel motors as well as consumer goods for export to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Wartsila's emphasis is on growing purchases of ship equipment as well as tools and raw materials from the Soviet Union. However, imports are small in relation to exports. The desired products are not always available since the Soviet Union sells them to other countries in order to obtain payment in foreign currency rather than in clearing-money.

With respect to Finland the Soviet Union should export more medical equipment, airplanes and helicopters, weather radar, and automobiles.

Certainty of Delivery Is Subject of Concern

"The Soviet Union, which is accustomed to large dimensions, is not always interested in manufacturing small amounts of goods according to the standards and needs of Finland," notes Eskelinen.

Then when the desired products are available, the transactions are not inevitably without problems. "Some of the equipment must be installed, for example, at a certain phase of construction on the ship. If they are not obtained in time, the whole delivery can be delayed."

Planners are apprehensive about the development of Soviet subcontracts since one cannot be certain about delivery. However, Eskelinen points out that delays in delivery are not merely a Soviet phenomenon.

"They happen everywhere, even here. What is sad is that if Wartsila's delivery is delayed because of deliveries from the Soviet Union itself, we are then, in spite of this, required to pay a penalty interest."

Western Clients Are Prejudiced

For the time being Wartsila has installed Soviet equipment only in ships ordered by the Soviet Union. "Indeed, an attempt is being made to market them elsewhere, but Western clients are not familiar with them and for this reason they are biased," states Eskelinen.

The Soviet Union itself, on the other hand, is not always sufficiently aware of the conditions and needs prevailing elsewhere. Incorrectly measured or otherwise inapplicable equipment has caused large economic losses even for Finnish enterprises.

However, the Soviet Union is one of the leading countries of the world in certain areas such as the steel industry and energy. This provides good opportunities for cooperation in third party countries. However, as far as Wartsila is concerned, such cooperation is in the early planning stage.

Increasing of Purchases Presents Problems

The increasing of purchases from the Soviet Union is not as easy for Wartsila as it is for other Finnish shipbuilders. Wartsila is the only Finnish shipyard to employ an individual merely for the purpose of handling purchases from the Soviet Union and resolving this problem.

Finland is already now the largest Western purchaser of Soviet machinery and equipment, but the Soviet Union is continually trying to increase such deliveries. For example, the Soviet Union is attempting to sell its own machinery and equipment for the ships it has ordered from Finland in an amount equal to 10-15 percent of the value of the order. This amount is so great that Finnish shipyards are having a hard time meeting it.

"If Soviet manufactured engines were installed, the goal would be easily achieved. Wartsila makes this other equipment and machinery itself and would naturally prefer to use its own products. Something else will have to be devised in order to achieve this goal," states Eskelinen.

Who, What, and Where?

According to Eskelinen making purchases from the Soviet Union is frequently difficult. Direct communication with the Soviet production plant is lacking. It is not possible to become acquainted with their operations. The products have not been seen in operation or use and the obtainment of information about them is not easy. What kind, from whom, and if this information is available, then when. These are questions which are frequently encountered.

"Delays of several months have occurred, although the situation is changing. The quality level of Soviet products is improving and they are beginning to be completely competitive," notes Eskelinen.

According to Eskelinen the Soviet Union does not promise delivery until it is completely possible. The delays are the result of unexpected and unforeseen factors. One reason is the transportation system, which does not always function efficiently.

Trade With the West Is Being Developed

Of Soviet foreign trade 60 percent is directed toward other socialist countries, a little less than 30 percent to the West, and the remainder to developing countries. The reforms currently being carried out will in the future make transactions less complicated.

A new generation of exporters is rising in the Soviet Union. Sales work is becoming more active. Representatives of industry are participating in the decisionmaking process of the administrations of the foreign trade associations. Various incentives are being used to encourage participation in foreign trade. Also ties between the clients and representatives of Soviet production plants have improved.

All this facilitates transactions with a country in which a foreign trade monopoly prevails. The Soviet Union has understood the significance of flexibility in order to be able to compete with its industrial products in the markets of the West.

And it is its trade with the West that the Soviet Union wants to develop.

10576
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FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER REKOLA SIGNS AIR PACT WITH BURMA

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Mar 80 p 25

[Article: "Rekola Continues Trip From Far East to Libya, Agreement on Air Transportation Between Finland and Burma"]

[Text] On Sunday in Rangoon Finland and Burma signed an air transport agreement between the two countries. Foreign Trade Minister Esko Rekola, whose Finnish delegation arrived in Burma on Friday, signed the agreement for Finland.

Minister Rekola negotiated in Burma with Prime Minister Maung Maung Khan as well as Vice Prime Minister Tun Tin.

According to the Finnish representatives the primary issue in the discussions was "the planning of joint economic ventures beneficial to both parties". Outokumpu, among others, has sold a copper smelter to Burma.

The 30-member delegation, led by Rekola, arrived in Burma from Thailand on Friday. The delegation included officials from the Ministry of Trade and Industry and representatives of enterprises. The Burma visit will last 4 days.

The delegation also spent 4 days in Thailand. Negotiations were conducted on the development of economic relations between Finland and Thailand as well as the expansion of developmental cooperation.

At the conclusion of his visit Rekola inaugurated a rural electrification project built with Finnish equipment and Finnish developmental and cooperation funds.

The final destination of the delegation in Southeast Asia is Singapore on Wednesday.

From Asia to Libya

An agreement on economic, industrial, and technological cooperation between Finland and Libya will be signed at the end of the current month. Foreign

Trade Minister Esko Rekola intends to visit Tripoli on his return trip from Southeast Asia. The dates of the visit are 15-19 March.

Finnish transactions to be negotiated in Libya amount to several million markkas.

The Soviet Union and Finnish corporations as subcontractors have laid the foundation for selling a Loviisa-type nuclear power plant to Libya.

Trade between our countries has increased forcefully in the 1970's and it has represented an export surplus for Finland. Last year exports amounted to 151.6 million markkas and imports amounted to 0.1 million markkas.

The prospects of economic cooperation between Finland and South Korea will be examined at a meeting of a mixed commission between the two countries in Seoul in April. A delegation led by Foreign Trade Minister Esko Rekola will travel to this meeting from Finland.

The first meeting of the mixed commission, which is a part of the agreement on TTT [Economic, Industrial, and Technological] cooperation between the countries, will be held on 9-11 April.

Trade with the Republic of Korea has increased rapidly in recent years. The year before last exports to Korea more than quadrupled and imports more than tripled. Last year, however, trade fell off so that exports were 24 and imports were 59 percent less than in 1978. The value of exports to Korea last year was 112 million markkas, 0.3 percent of total exports and imports amounted to 101 million markkas, 0.2 percent of total imports.

The balance of trade with South Korea, which was at a deficit for a long time, became a surplus of 11 million markkas last year.

In recent years boats have made up the primary imports from the Republic of Korea. In addition, Finland has imported clothing, footwear, fabric, string, a certain amount of food products, raw tobacco, woodwork, sporting goods, and recreational electronic items. Machinery, equipment, and means of transportation have made up the majority of exports from Finland to South Korea.

In addition to the traditional exchange of commodities, design and planning exports in various areas are acquiring a more prominent position. Export projects have been accomplished or have been put into operation, for example, in the areas of ore refining, cellulose production, and shipyard construction, states the Foreign Ministry.

Exports to Czechoslovakia Decrease

Last year Finland's exports to Czechoslovakia decreased 21 percent from the 1978 level. On the other hand, imports from Czechoslovakia increased 34 percent. An attempt was made to find means for increasing and balancing trade this year at a joint meeting of the mixed commission which concluded in

Prague on Friday. Such measures also included large separate ventures in third party countries in addition to the normal exchange of commodities.

At the meeting it was decided to continue the experiment in free currency with respect to payment this year. Also the commission made a decision in principle to retain the free currency basis even into the following year.

The Finnish delegation was led by Assistant Section Chief Matti Liukkonen from the Foreign Ministry. The chairman of the Czechoslovakian delegation was Assistant Section Chief Joseph Keller of the Foreign Trade Ministry.

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YOUNG CRITICS, AUTHORS REDISCOVER INDIVIDUALISM, FREEDOM

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by Soren G. Lindgren]

[Text] The old idea of individual freedom has experienced a renaissance in Finland and is being used by young critics and authors as a weapon in the neo-individualist and anti-authoritarian struggle. The Finnish critic Soren G. Lindgren writes here about the new signs.

Will the Russian dissidents enable us to re-discover our history and remind us that democracy is born and nourished by the daily revolt against the laws of those in power?

That is what Andre Glucksmann, often characterized as the most clear-thinking of the new French philosophers, asks in the final chapter of his book "Woman Cook and the Cannibal." And he urged individual opposition to power, something in which, however, not many of his Swedish reviewers believed.

But in Italy there has come into being a protest movement which unequivocally maintains that to ignore the decrees of the power structure is a human right. In those situations where disobedience has expressed itself in refusing to bear arms, the power structure has responded with severe penalties. In Finland the idea of individual opposition to power and authority has become the battle cry around which a new generation in the theater and in literature has rallied.

Silence

The theoretician of the new Finnish generation is a 26-year-old philosopher with the name Dan Steinbock. Last fall he became a name which received much attention after he had in a full-page article in HELSINKIN SANOMAT (9/23/79) criticized the empty jargon of the Finnish politicians and compared it with Orwell's Newspeak in "1984." Even if the article was considered distasteful, no one came forward to refute it.

Steinbock consequently on 14 October returned with some nasty comments on totalitarian silence in Finland. In the second article he precisely spells out some of his basic underlying points. In this regard he strongly argues against all utopian dreams, not least because the Finnish stalinists, the so-called taistointers, had succeeded in winning and effectively disciplining the most recent generation of intellectuals.

"The growing criticism is negative. In contrast to traditional criticism, it does not wallow in the dream of the ideal state (since it is recognized that the state is always based on oppression). The negative criticism is based on the dominant system, the status quo, where there is always possibilities for improving the quality of life. That is the negative criticism, whose criterion is human happiness, laconic in its absence of dreams. On the one hand, it says in Maoist style, let all flowers bloom, but it adds, wise from the lesson of 1968, that all flowers fade in good time."

If the language in the quotation is awkward, it is not just my fault. Steinbock writes an awkward Finnish, full of unusual twists. But that did not prevent the second article from starting a discussion about what soon was called Steinbockianism.

The new term became an abusive term for all party members regardless of party. But for the oppositional youth--and it is always large, for Finland has a heavy conservatism with deep roots in the east European earth--it became a standard around which to rally. This was not least because Steinbock is associated with a group of young authors and theater people who have been responsible during the last two years for what's new in Finnish cultural life.

Prose

The new movement has, however, an earlier history but in prose and poetry. In prose the anti-authoritarian theme is hinted at by the Tampere author Hannu Aho in his second novel "Saara." It concerned a leftist-oriented student who at almost the very end of his studies realizes that he does not want to relive his parents' middle-class life. All the channels which society offers him for realizing his potential are repugnant to him.

"Competence is a product which is marketed like other products, and the university is a market place. To study for monetary reasons does not interest me--I became convinced of this during the spring term."

Hence, he was drawn to Saara who had grown up under adverse circumstances at the bottom of society. She represented an anarchistic, anti-intellectual and pragmatically individualistic life style for better or worse.

Theater

Hannu is, as indicated, from Tampere and is not considered part of the new generation in Helsinki. Its core is centered in the theater group, the

The Finnish People's Theater, which made a success with the play "Pete Q-Posthumous Papers" in 1978. The 23-year-old lyricist Arto Melleri is the most prominent figure in that group along with Director Arto af Hallstrom.

Melleri made his debut in 1978 with the collection of poems "Wreath of Song." It was his manner of blending mystical and realistic everyday pictures which aroused enthusiasm. He used the same technique in last year's collection of poems "Zoo" but increased the intensity further. In him too there is found the anti-authoritarian and relativist attitude which Steinbock represents. The second stanza of the poem "Ages of the World" reads:

"The spiral, the spiral
I have sung, suffered from an
echoing
Headache in the deserted house
As when the hammer of time
Has become disjointed and does not reach
Its subordinates
And nothing is repeated
Sounding the same, nothing
Is a single line, geometry,
And a dash, rightly
Placed
Oppresses the whole sentence; remaining
Is
The cooling net of the flesh,
The ribs round themselves
Into bars."

Like Steinbock, Melleri believes that history has no end. Hence, he dreams of a constant breaking-up, of not having to ossify and die, broken by a society characterized by evil.

"Pete Q"

Even the play "Pete Q" lets myth encounter everyday realism--in a way which Strindberg once discovered. Melleri constructed the play's basic outline; it was later polished by Jukka Asikainen and Heikki Vuento.

The basic theme in "Pete Q" is taken from Dostoevski's "Brothers Karamazov," more specifically the legend of the Great Inquisitor. He imprisons Jesus who has returned because He is upsetting the oppressive social order which the Great Inquisitor has created in his seal for the little people of society.

In "Pete Q" a singer with the same name returns to the Outermost Village by the Sea, where he once was killed or disappeared. It has been dominated by thirty years by a colonel who has allowed a variety of entertainment by competing groups to draw attention from the brutality of his oppression.

Upon his return Pete Q is imprisoned along with his friends, Egon Vernissa, the "logbook-keeper," and Sekundo, the revenger. Like Dostoevski's Jesus, Pete Q says nothing.

But Egon Vernissa is all the more detailed. His message is taken from R. D. Laing's thoughts about the inner death which an individual must experience in order to merge again as a living person. Laing got this from French existential philosophy which in turn got it from romanticism which with the help of Christianity obtained it from antiquity.

Imprisonment

The idea of individual freedom was the central problem for 19th century philosophy, even for Marx. In "Pete Q" the idea has a renaissance but not as a goal for development but as a weapon in the neo-individualistic and anti-authoritarian struggle. For, as Timo Louhikari suggests in the postscript to Otava's edition of the play, these events can be conceived as being played out in the mind of the colonel or every person who has based his career upon the conditions of an authoritarian society. The play depicts contemporary man's imprisonment in a repressive pattern.

In the fall of 1979 the Finnish student theater in Helsinki have an added impetus to the discussion stemming from "Pete Q," with the play "Silmät" (The Eyes) which pictures a similar problem. Dan Steinbock is the chief author.

These ideological and artistic endeavors have received a cultural-political impact by being skillfully picked up and disseminated further by the periodical Nakopiiri (Horizon). It was formed a couple of years ago, with FIB/Cultural Front as a model, to combat and offer an alternative to the rest of the Finnish press, which, as a matter of fact, had become petrified in fruitless positional war after the terrific politicization which Finland had experienced in the beginning of the 70's.

Nakopiiri combines investigative reporting with political commentary, interviews hardbitten critics of society such as Erno Paaslinna, takes stock of our cultural heritage in long articles deliberately gives space to dissidents, and this fall has provided a forum for a debate on the theater, which once again is in the process of renewing the vital Finnish theater.

Individualism

The new generation has become well-known in Finland, partly through its own strength and partly thanks to support from Nakopiiri. It is not a homogeneous group, but its anti-authoritarian direction represents the mood of young people today.

The same is true in regard to neo-individualism, and all the more so because it is part of the mythology of Finnishism. This suggests that the new movement may influence the cultural climate in Finland and even if fortunate the very mood of society.



Dan Steinbock [on left] has started up a fierce debate in Finland with his appeal for a new political language and his negative criticism which "recognizes that the State is always based on oppression."

Arto Melleri [on right] a young dramatist who pleads for a constant break-up and preaches that history has no goal. His play "Pete Q" has the same theme as Dostoevski's legend about the Great Inquisitor.

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BRIEFS

NO ARMY FUND INCREASE--Defense Minister Lasse Aikas rejects the arguments that recent procurements by our defense forces represent an effort to increase the level of armaments. Aikas noted at the opening ceremonies of the 76th national defense course on Monday in Helsinki that the increase in this year's defense expenditures in comparison with last year is the result of equipment renewals which are comparatively large from the point of view of expenditures. According to Aikas the increase in prices for defense materials has also been great. This is primarily the result of rapidly developing technology. In reality it is a question of maintaining the credibility of our defense policy, which is a prerequisite for the development of our defense forces and for maintaining their ability to perform, states Aikas. In the opinion of Aikas the development of military defense readiness is, however, only a portion of those actions by which we can strengthen our country's readiness to cope in a crisis situation. Along with this we should equally develop our ability to survive a crisis in other areas also. The most important of these are the development of a stockpile of foodstuffs as well as the capability to prevent damage to our energy supply, states Defense Minister Aikas. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINKIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Mar 80 p 9] 10576

USSR SVETOGORSKY PACT--The agreements concerning plans for the third phase of Svetogorsk were signed on Thursday in Helsinki between the Finnish contractor Finn-Stroi and the Finnish consulting firms. In the next 3 years expansion work on the cellulose and paper plant will be continued in Svetogorsk in the Soviet Union, Imatra's neighboring city. A contract agreement concerning the third phase of this project was concluded last December. It concerns construction projects involving a printing paper plant, a sulfate cellulose plant, a wood treatment plant as well as subsidiary projects providing production services. The contract also includes earth construction and area work. As in the previous phases the contract agreement also contains construction-, architectural-, electric-, area-, and municipal planning. Of these the largest is construction planning. Planning takes up approximately 40 million markkas of the total contract sum of more than 700 million markkas. The responsibility for the chief planning of the third phase of Svetogorsk belongs to the Soviet counterpart, who also will order and install the necessary machinery and equipment. Negotiations concerning the delivery of such machinery are now being conducted with Finnish manufacturers. The planning agreement concluded on Thursday will mean work for

approximately 150 engineers, architects, technicians, and draftsmen in 11 Finnish consulting firms for a period of 2 years. The planning work, which is being accomplished together with the construction projects, will be completed by the end of 1981. The third phase of Svetogorsk will be completed in its entirety in the fall of 1982. At the busiest point in time 1,300 Finnish workers will be occupied at the jobsite. Finn-Stroi has also concluded a contract agreement with the Alfred A. Palmberg Corporation for earth construction work in the third phase of Svetogorsk. This contract entails general leveling of the area for the printing paper plant, the construction of embankments for the wood products storage area, and leveling of the area for the wood treatment plant and the railway yard as well as the construction of roads and a pipe network. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Mar 80 p 36] 10576

NEW CIVIL DEFENSE SIRENS--Helsinki intends to renew its alarm system. It is intended to procure 48 new sirens in addition to the 100 electric sirens. The city will also adopt the use of the so-called portable alarms. Ten of these are needed. The Helsinki Municipal Government is sending its alarm system plan to the Uusimaa Provincial Government. Highly effective alarms and electric sirens, whose sound will cover 70-80 percent of the populated area of the city, are being used for civil defense purposes. Ten portable electronic alarms are needed. Under exceptional conditions they will be installed on the roofs of automobiles for the purpose of providing information to the public. The city has regularly tested the other alarms once a month while others, on the other hand, are tested a couple times a year. Now the intent is to test all alarms once a month. The renovation of the system will cost more than 1 million markkas. The City Council also urged the fire department to make certain that so-called internal alarm systems are in operating condition in industrial plants, business enterprises, and offices in areas subject to a possible threat. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Mar 80 p 6] 10576

CSO: 3107

PCF'S PLISSONNIER ON SOLIDARITY WITH HUNGARIAN MSZMP

LD011449 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 27 Mar 80 p 8 LD

[Max Leon dispatch: "Peace and Disarmament--A Common Objective of Communist Parties"]

[Text] Budapest, 26 Mar--While more than 700 Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] delegates continued the debate on the report presented by Janos Kadar, many representatives of parties invited to the congress visited enterprises and farms in Budapest and the provinces on Tuesday.

Accompanied by MSZMP Politburo member and government Deputy Premier Gyorgi Aczel and Minister of Finance Lajos Faluvagi, the French delegation headed by [PCF Politburo member] Gaston Plissonnier was warmly welcomed at the Babolna State Farm some 100 km from the capital.

Speaking at the solidarity meeting Gaston Plissonnier mentioned the success of the forces of national, social and human liberation.

"All the indications are," he said, "that the balance of forces on the international plane is favorable to the revolutionary movement. That explains the renewed aggression of imperialism, which is trying to launch a counteroffensive to preserve its threatened positions, using all the means at its disposal, speeding up the arms race and stepping up its interference in the affairs of other peoples, as in Afghanistan.

"In an attempt to sow doubt and fear among the workers it is launching an ideological war on a world scale and is using slander against communist parties and socialist countries.

"In France the reactionary government is spreading furious anti-communism; it is taking its part in this general imperialist strategy. It is increasingly including our country in the Atlantic bloc's policies and is encouraging the FRG's hegemonism in Western Europe.

"In the face of this international situation the PCF thinks it is particularly important to boost international solidarity and to extend it to the whole revolutionary and progressive movement.

"First it is strengthening its solidarity with other communist parties, striving to take account of new situations and the great diversity which characterizes the international movement.

"Of the great objectives common to the various communist parties one is the object of special attention and efforts. This is peace and disarmament.

"Of course, each party is waging its own struggle on this question. For its part our party has taken steps to mobilize France's peace forces. It is prepared to take part in any joint initiative which could help to extend the struggle for peace. This is particularly essential in Europe after NATO's decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe.

"This great question of peace and disarmament does not only concern communists. It concerns all peoples and parties interested in the cause of peace. We must help unite them all and develop their action."

Gaston Plissonnier welcomed the Hungarian party's and people's friendship. "As the years pass our relations and mutual understanding become stronger and more friendly, as is shown by the meetings between our Secretary General Georges Marchais and your party's First Secretary Janos Kadar. We are convinced that these ties and our cooperation on great common objectives will continue to be strengthened and enriched.

"We are convinced that this action is in the interests of our two countries and our two peoples and will help to develop relations between France and Hungary and to serve the cause of detente and peace."

CSO: 3100

JOBERT'S RESISTANCE TO NATIONAL ID CARD FILE DETAILED

Paris ZERO UN INFORMATIQUE HEBDO in French 3 Mar 80 p 11

[Text] The Democratic movement has sent us the text of a letter from Michel Jobert to the president of the national commission on data processing and liberties, discussing the proposal for a national automated identity card file. Following we publish the document in its entirety.

"The press is reporting the coming replacement of identity cards by plastic cards, associated with a centralized data processing system that permits easy detection of fraud. Your commission would be put in charge of the file, and the necessary measures would be taken to avoid any violation of individual liberties. Now--you know it better than anybody else--data processing does not seriously infringe upon individual liberties, but deeply threatens collective liberties!

"So it is with a national ID card file: if a person is sought by the police everywhere, it does not matter whether his papers are computerized or not. It would be the same if 100 persons were suspected. On the other hand, new possibilities would arise in trying to reach whole categories of the population. Already during the last year, the Germans started to take a census of all the persons born in the Vieux-Port district of Marseilles. At that time the operation failed. It would not be the same today, with a tool that permits the selection of whole groups of persons in a few hours, even if they are hundreds of thousands. To make possible the systematic sorting of the population at the national level, it would suffice to attach to the new ID card a magnetic record like the one found behind the metro tickets, and to systematically provide control centers with cheap magnetic readers--there are some already.

A Sorting of the Population

"Such operations would be simple to arrange: selection of individuals by name, place of birth, age. Then, since the address would be available at the same time, it would be easy to seize some suspects, chosen by the computer, and to bring them together for a more thorough identification.

"If we were to examine the hazards of police life in our country in the last 40 years, we would realize that with a system such as the one being proposed, one after another: communists, Jews, members of the resistance and collaborationists, supporters of peace in Algeria and sympathizers of the OAS [Secret Army Organization, Algeria], could have been systematically and successfully rounded up. Where would our country be if, for the sake of expediency, all the suspects of an era, one after the other, would have been neutralized?

"That is the first danger; there is a second one: the theft of the card file. Not by a commercial organization or an individual--a minor risk by which we deceive ourselves--but by a foreign country. Let a foreign country take hold of a copy of the card file, and its military and police organizations will sort out or find, for any useful purpose, national officers sufficiently well described by their name and date of birth.

"If a national identity card file is created, it will be immediately coveted by intelligence services, ready to make any ~~endeavor~~ to obtain a copy. Since the file can be reproduced--surely, of necessity, there will be several copies--were a crisis to arise, it would certainly be duplicated in a disorderly fashion.

"To computerize an identity card file at the national level is a serious imprudence which endangers the national interest. Regulations and administrative measures cannot limit this danger. From the moment that abuses of a file by an administration--in its every day activities--or by a foreign country are possible, the development of such a project is unacceptable, even under conditions of limited use. Only insurmountable physical obstacles can offer safeguard.

"The concern of a rule to protect secrets in data processing is not superfluous: that which purely and simply forbids the introduction of secret card files into machines which can be questioned from afar.

To Limit Information

"If it is really necessary to ignore this ban--truly we do not see why--then, an incomplete file should be enough: one which does not permit identification by automatic localization of a person.

"According to this rule, it might be possible to show in one place:

--a name, address and photograph;

--or a French ID number and a name.

"On the other hand, it should be forbidden, contrary to acquired bad habits, to tolerate the presence of three pieces of information: name, address and national ID number, or the simultaneous presence of equivalent information.

"Unfortunately, it seems that the Minister of the Interior's projects as they have been reported to the press do not consider such limitations. Now, there is a moment when certain technical structures touch the essence of a group and threaten their existence. So it is with the national, or rather European, identification project, which is to be submitted to you.

"It seems to me of the utmost importance for your commission to stress the irreversible danger it [the project] contains and to draw the necessary conclusion: to forbid even the outline of this project."

9341
CSO: 3100

'RIZOSPASTIS' SCORES PAPANDREOU'S 'TOTAL' TURNAROUND

AT011904 Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 1 Apr 80 p 2 AT

[From the "Radical" Column: "What Has Changed?"]

[Text] In his Mannheim speech and in his recent statements PASOK Chairman A. Papandreou described the West German Social Democratic movement as part of the "existing progressive forces" of the country and as their exclusive representative. Irrespective of any other observations which one could have on such a description, one cannot fail to stress that Papandreou's statements are contrary to the true situation and contrary to his own previous statements. First of all, why is it that the West German communism is wiped out of the progressive area with one single stroke? Does not the West German Communist Party belong to the "existing progressive" forces? It is obvious that the logic of "exclusivity" which permeates the view of PASOK's chairman is contrary to the true facts. Over and above this, however, it would also be worthwhile to point out older evaluations by Papandreou on the role of the West German Social-Democratic Party which are completely contrary to the current ones. In a speech in Rome (21 January 1976) he declared: "We must understand that European Social Democracy--and particularly its German form--represents American imperialism on our continent. This was clearly stated by Willy Brandt a few days ago when he declared war on the alliance between communist parties in West Europe. For this he received Kissinger's warmest congratulations." In another speech in Athens (19 January 1975) he stated: "What has been the function of social-democracy? It has supported monopolistic capitalism and monopolistic capital in the West European area. Fundamentally it is nothing more than a revisionist, renewed and more presentable capitalism. What is the SPD? It is the party which one could say is a little bit more progressive or a little bit more conservative than the U.S. Democratic Party. Johnson's program, in certain of its aspects, is even more progressive than the program of the SPD." He said similar things at that time during an interview to the newspaper TA NEA (3 November 1975). What then has changed during the last few years in order to overthrow, from the very foundations, and in order to completely turn around these estimations? It is certain that what has not changed for the better is the West German Social-Democratic Party itself.

'I VRADYNI' SCORES PAPANDREOU'S CONTRADICTORY POSITIONS

AT011934 Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 1 Apr 80 pp 1, 2 AT

[Editorial: "A Crazy, Crazy World"]

[Text] We are living in a crazy, crazy world. Let none be deceived into thinking that this column was influenced by standard expressions most usually used in the cinema pages of newspapers. We do not refer to any film title but rather to a scenario of political developments.

PASOK's chairman returned from West Germany, where he considered it more worth his while to spend our national anniversary. We hardly had time to regain our composure after his surprise "discovery" over there that the West German Social-Democratic Movement--which in 1978 and always according to A. Papandreu, was accursed, pro-American and the "political representative of monopolistic capitalism"--is a "progressive democratic party" which represents existing German progressive forces, when a new "shock" followed....

In yesterday's meeting with political editors of Athenian mass information media, A. Papandreu presented a developing scenario of political developments. According to this scenario the current Chamber of Deputies will, in all probability, not elect the president of the republic. In this way: the Chamber of Deputies will be dissolved; the issue of the president of the republic will be solved basically through elections; his election will be by the new chamber and "new democracy" will have another 4-year term guaranteed. Such a development, however, will undermine the institution of the presidency and will create the danger for irregular developments of every form and nature.

In order to recall Ionescu--who day by day seems to influence PASOK's chairman more and more--we will have a case of the bald opera singer who was neither bald nor even a singer.

To date A. Papandreu proclaimed that the current chamber must be dissolved because it does not represent the people's feelings and sentiments. At the same time and even if only for reasons of creating sensations, PASOK once or twice appeared demanding a speeding up of elections. Yesterday A. Papandreu argued that the scenario "which is developing" for the purpose of speeding up elections, if a president of the republic is not elected,

is being woven by "new democracy." He also argued that such a turn of events would create the danger for irregular developments. Lord, you are great and your works are marvelous!

To date Papandreu indirectly argued that the president of the republic must be elected by the new Chamber of Deputies. Yesterday he personally warned that such a development would undermine the institution of the presidency! Should we cross ourselves once again?

To date the press propagandists of PASOK never ceased "discovering" in a stereotyped way a drop in "new democracy's" strength and an increase in the movement's strength. Yesterday the chairman of PASOK personally rejected all this propaganda nonsense by his friends letting it be clearly understood that he personally sees that the elections which will soon be held, if a president of the republic is not elected by the current Chamber of Deputies, will again result in an easy victory of "new democracy" so that Konstandinos Karamanlis ~~will~~ be elected president of the republic by the new chamber. This time it is not we, but the propagandists of PASOK and its leading personali~~ti~~s who will cross themselves.

Naturally, in another part of yesterday's dialog Papandreu argued that "new democracy" will not get the majority in a new election. In such an eventuality, however, what is the meaning of the revelation of the scenario and his warnings?

All these cinematographic "effects," all these contradictions, all these inconsistencies, clearly demonstrate the harsh dilemmas with which PASOK is being confronted as the time for developments approaches. The [word indistinct] tactics which it chose during the election of the president by the Chamber of Deputies do not solve the problem, as it can already see. PASOK thus appears wishing for the election of Konstandinos Karamanlis as the new president of the republic--without, however, its daring to "cooperate" for reasons of expediency--thus hoping that early elections will be avoided. This is at a time when Papandreu guarantees that these elections will lead Karamanlis to the presidency and "new democracy" to a new term of office for four more years.

The moment of truth is approaching. It appears, however, that our crazy, crazy world has some few more surprises in store for us.

CSO: 4908

BRIEFS

CONFERENCE ON EXPORTS--The Second Hellenic Export Conference has been taking place in Athens this week. There was a fair amount of academic discussion on the importance of exports and 1981 was declared Greece's "Export Year." On the practical side, the Minister of Coordination, Mr C. Mitsotakis, promised that, in future, refunds of interest to exporters, allowed under Currency Committee Decision 1574, would be effected promptly and no longer delayed as had been the unfortunate experience of exporters in recent years. (Editor's comment: This is no doubt a sincere and welcome gesture but loses much of its value as refunds of such interest will be ceasing anyway within the next few months, in accordance with the commitments Greece has undertaken towards the Common Market.) Mr Mitsotakis used the occasion to mention the excellent progress which exports of Greek manufactures had achieved in the EEC area, having attained a value of \$765 million in 1979, compared with next to nothing in 1962, when Greece first became an associate member of the EEC. Mr Mitsotakis added that the cordial relations Greece had built up with the Arab world had similarly multiplied exports to that market and that a similar trend was visible in almost every other direction. However, said Mr Mitsotakis, this did not mean there were no new prospective markets to be explored and developed. He was supported in this view by Mr G. Avramides, Chairman of the Hellenic Exporters Association who said Greek exports of manufactures could attain a value of \$12,500 million by 1985, if properly pursued. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 20 Mar 80 pp 1, 2]

FREE INTEREST RATES OPPOSITION--The PASOK Socialist Party has declared its opposition to the Government's intention to free interest rates on the grounds that such liberalization will allow domestic and foreign capitalists a free hand and will open the doors wide to foreign banks to compete with Greek banks on equal terms. It will also forfeit the right of the Greek Government to shape national credit policy and will hand over the function of the banking system to private interests. (Editor's comment: This last remark seems a little hard to understand seeing that, since 1975, about 90% of all Greek banks have been nationalised and belong to the people and not to private bankers. There has been no talk of "de-nationalizing any of them.) PASOK also disagrees with plans to relax

currency controls by the formation of the proposed foreign currency market and says that such liberalization is anachronistic and will downgrade national control of the country's economy which will become subjected to decision making at various centres outside Greece. [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 20 Mar 80 p 3]

RENTS POLICY--Rents for domiciles have been frozen by the Government until the 31st of this month. An argument is now going on as to whether a 3-month prolongation to this freeze should be granted or whether it would be better to allow landlords to charge up to a 15% increase, on condition that, as each lease expires, they agree to sign a two-year renewal, if so requested by the tenant. The question of rents for shops and business premises is not being discussed at the present moment. Something will have to be decided on the issue next week. The odds seem to weigh slightly in favour of the 3-month moratorium extension. (Editor's comment: Leaving aside the possible rights and wrongs of the case, two considerations face this or any other Government that would be dealing with the matter. A general election is due, at best 17 months hence and possibly much sooner. The votes of tenants exceed those of landlords. On the other hand, the Ministry of Finance is in need of extra funds now and is seen to be snatching at every imaginable opportunity to raise additional revenue. With tax on rents running at anything between 30-35%, an overall 15% increase in rents can mean a hefty slice of additional revenue.) [Text] [Athens HELLENEWS EXPRESS in English 20 Mar 80 p 3]

CSO: 4920

NEW CABINET GIVES MARXIST PARTY CHANCE TO SPLIT OPPONENTS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 25 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Throstur Haraldsson: "New Icelandic Government Splits Strong Bastion of the Bourgeoisie"]

[Text] After strife of long duration Iceland got a new government 2 weeks ago. The October election was interpreted as a defeat for the leftwing, but Iceland's political life is more complicated than that.

Two weeks ago Iceland got a new government. At last, one might say, because the country has been run by a caretaker cabinet since early October. Though the election created marked changes in power relations among the parties, it created no greater clarity as concerns the possibility of formation of a viable majority government.

The victor in the election was the liberal Progress Party, which regained its position as the country's second largest party, with 16 seats of a total of 60 seats in the Althing. The Independence Party gained less than had been expected. At one time, this large bourgeois party held a definite majority in opinion polls, but it had to be satisfied with a gain of one seat, from 20 to 21. In addition, one of the two defectors from the party, who ran on independent lists, was elected. Losers in the election were the two "working class parties," the Socialist People's Alliance, which was reduced from 14 to 11 seats, and the Social Democrats, reduced from 14 to 10 seats. At the time, this result was interpreted by Ritzaus [Press Bureau] as victory for the nonsocialists at the cost of the socialist forces. This interpretation shows the general confusion of concepts that characterizes politics in Iceland. The new government is a clear example of this. It consists of the People's Alliance, the Progress Party, and defectors from the Independence Party. The latter represent to some extent that party's leftwing, while rightwing together with the very rightwing-oriented Social Democrats will be in opposition.

A Political Bombshell

After the election the Progress Party, as the election victor, was assigned the task of revitalizing the departed center-left government. It was unsuccessful, primarily because of the great disagreement between the two working class parties. Thereupon Geir Hallgrímsson, Independence Party leader, attempted to form a coalition government with participation by all parties, but this did not produce any enthusiasm either. Next, the People's Alliance and the Social Democrats each made shortlived attempts. Now 2 months had passed since the election, and prospects of a new viable government being set up were zero. President Kristjan Eldharn (who, by the way, has announced that he will resign at the expiration of his third term in office in August) became impatient. He gave the Althing an ultimatum: You will have a week to discuss the matter. If this leads to no result I shall set up a government composed of government officials, he declared.

Now things began to happen. In strict secrecy, Gunnar Thoroddsen, vice chairman of the Independence Party, called the Progress Party and the People's Alliance to a meeting for discussions. On 1 February Thoroddsen threw a bombshell at his party by announcing that he had reached agreement with the two parties on forming a government. But he lacked three Althing members for a majority. At a meeting of his party's Althing group he therefore asked the group whether it would support the new government.

Party chairman Hallgrímsson was furious and refused point blank to go along with the vice chairman's lead. Hallgrímsson justifiably felt himself shunted aside because it was he, not the vice chairman, the party had been given the task of forming a government. Thoroddsen, however, obtained the needed support and formed a government composed of the above mentioned parties plus three members of the Althing group of the Independence party.

Deep Split

The formation of this government revealed a deep split in the Independence Party. Thus far the party has been successful in keeping together the bourgeoisie together with a good part of the petit bourgeoisie and the working class. Up until 1970 both big finance and the storekeeper on the corner could stand together behind a "strong man." But since the sudden death in 1970 of chairman Bjarni Benediktsson it has been difficult to find a strong man. Nevertheless, the party succeeded through the 1970's in maintaining outward unity, while internally a hard struggle for power has raged--a struggle that has now broken into the open.

A survey of the party's various interest groups is difficult. Roughly, it can be said that chairman Hallgrímsson represents the international sector of the bourgeoisie, i.e., the forces which wish to open the country to foreign capital. Hallgrímsson himself and his family have interests in a number of wholesale and importing firms, including Shell's Iceland branch.

Thoroddsen, on the other hand, is spokesman for the "national" part of the bourgeoisie. He wishes to contribute to a sound "Icelandic capitalism" based on fishing, agriculture, and industry in Icelandic hands. It is characteristic of his position in the party that the three party members who followed him in the formation of the government were all elected in provinces where agriculture and fishing are the dominant occupations. This does not mean, however, that the rest of the party stands together behind Hauksson. On the contrary, his position has become even weaker than it was before. For example, at a party meeting following establishment of the government he was unsuccessful in having Thoroddsen and his followers ejected from the party. And according to Icelandic newspapers he was criticized at least as severely as were the defectors. Everything indicates that he has been made the scapegoat of the party split.

A Dream Fulfilled

From the point of view of the People's Alliance this development is in many ways gratifying. This party has for a long time nurtured the desire to split this strong bastion of the bourgeoisie, the Independence Party, and to gather the "progressive" forces of the country--the workers, the peasants, and the progressive parts of the petit bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie--in a government. It now seems that this dream may be fulfilled. It can be said that in many ways Thoroddsen has with his initiative created greater clarity in Icelandic politics than has existed for decades. The government's program rejects the great reductions in wages and public services which according to the Independence Party and the Social Democrats were to bring inflation down to a reasonable level. Real wages and public expenditures are to be maintained by means of modernization and increased productivity in the fishing industry, as well as through development of other industry.

In other words: Instead of cutting wages to attract foreign investment, real wages are to be maintained by means of a healthier and more effective domestic capitalism. The question is only whether this policy will prove effective. Whether modernization of the fishing industry will lead to unemployment. And whether within the country is found the needed capital, willing to enter into a long range industrial development.

The Trade Union Movement

The answer to the latter question is also decisive to the reaction of the trade union movement. All parties are represented in the leadership of Iceland's LO [National Federation of Trade Unions]. Of the 15 members of the board of directors, 6 are People's Alliance members, 4 are Social Democrats, 2 are members of the Independence Party, and 1 of the Progress Party. There are two independent members, but these have in recent years cooperated with the two representatives of the working class parties. It is an open question whether this cooperation can be maintained now that the Althing groups of the two parties have taken different directions.

If the cooperation endures it will probably mean a split among the Social Democrats. If this cooperation is dissolved, what alliances will arise? Which sector of the party will the two representatives of the Independence Party follow? And if the cooperation in the government means that the People's Alliance is forced to support interference in wage negotiations against the wish of the LO, how will the party's previously so militant leftwing react?

The Keflavik Base

In the government's foreign policy there are also things that may be dangerous to the People's Alliance. When the party--which has always been a declared opponent of the American military base at Keflavik and the country's NATO membership--went along with the formation in 1978 of the center-left government, it accepted for the first time membership in a government that did not wish to oust the Keflavik base. This was justified at the time by the government platform being only temporary, to be renegotiated after 1 year. Now, however, it is now not a question of a temporary government, and there is hardly one word of importance in the platform on the future of the base.

Prior to the last election there was discussion in the Base Opponents' Organisation on whether the organization should present candidates for election, because in its parliamentarian work the People's Alliance has gradually given lower priority to opposition to the existence of the base. At that time, nothing came of it. But at the next election, perhaps.

11256
CSO: 3106

NEW GOVERNMENT MUST DEAL WITH INFLATION, JAN MAYEN ISSUES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Feb 80 p 8

[Commentary by Morten Fyhn: "Iceland's Political Earthquake"]

[Text] After 2 months of negotiations since the parliamentary election in December of last year, Iceland has finally got a new government, but a political earthquake was necessary before the new assembly could be formed. The political drama which has taken place in Reykjavik is of considerable interest for two reasons. For one thing, the country's largest party, the conservative Independence Party, is on the verge of being split, and for another thing, the clarification on Iceland means that new negotiations with Norway about Jan Mayen are coming.

The new government, which presented its declaration before the weekend, is led by the 70-year-old Gunnar Thoroddsen from the Independence Party. Two of the other government members come from the prime minister's party, three from the communist-dominated People's Union, and four from the Progressive Party. In other words, there is a clear nonsocialist majority in the coalition.

The government's base in the parliament consists of the Progressive Party's 17 representatives, the 17 from the People's Union, the three from the Independence Party who are in the government, as well as a parliamentary representative who was elected on a separate listing. Altogether Thoroddsen's government thus has a majority of 32 of the 80 members in parliament. In addition, another conservative representative has declared that he will vote for the government if it is threatened by no-confidence proposals. His support means that the government has secured itself a majority in both sections of parliament. On Iceland the system is such that government members retain their seat in parliament.

The sensational thing in this relationship is that Thoroddsen, who is vice chairman in the Independence Party, has formed the government against the will of his own party, and after the party chairman, Gair Halgrímsson, himself had failed in his attempts. During the weekend the supreme organ of the Independence Party, the party council, got together for an extraordinary meeting to discuss the situation in the party. In spite of the fact that the new Prime Minister Thoroddsen defended his actions and asked for support,

the party council, which has 200 members, accepted a proposal which supports all earlier decisions by the parliamentary group and the central administration to reject Thoroddsson. Only 29 voted against the decision, which means that the Independence Party will in parliament be in opposition to a government which is led by the vice chairman of its own party. Together with the Conservatives, the Social Democrats' 10 members of parliament are in opposition.

The decision in the Independence Party will probably cause the prime minister and those who support him to be excluded by the party or at least expelled from the meetings of the conservative parliamentary group. But if the new government makes progress in its work, there is an obvious danger of a serious power fight in the Independence Party, which can lead to Hallgrímsson's fall.

The government's program declaration was general in its form and did not contain anything sensational. The problems will first appear when the government is to solve Iceland's most serious problem, namely the violent inflation. The interesting thing here is that there are two cabinet ministers from the People's Union who are to take up the battle with the organizations about prices and wages: Minister of Finance Ragnar Arnalds, who is considered to be among the more moderate leftist socialists, and Svarar Gestason, who is minister of social affairs, health and social security. For the People's Union this becomes a crucial test of strength, which will be of significant importance in the party's position in the trade movement. The People's Union has also obtained a third, "heavy" department, namely the Ministry of Industry and Energy.

The discussion of Jan Mayen in the government declaration contained little concrete. They were satisfied to report that contact would be made with Norway to arrange a solution which guarantees Iceland's fisheries rights in the area and which protects the stock and which also looks after the country's rights on the seabed. Norway's counter parties in the negotiations will be Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson and Fisheries Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson, both top people in the Progressive Party.

The unstable political situation in Reykjavik is especially poorly suited to give concessions to Norway about Jan Mayen. Johannesson, who was prime minister last year, is also known for assuming a firm position in the Jan Mayen question. The foreign debate in parliament recently showed that Minister of Foreign Affairs Knut Frydenlund cannot expose himself to a new hot capelin summer. A Jan Mayen solution must be found before the summer comes, and it will not be easy if it is to be done in an understanding with Iceland.

8958
CSO: 3108

PAJETTA'S SPEECH ON PCI INTERNATIONALISM AT BUDAPEST PLANT**LD021317 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 29 Mar 80 p 21 LD**

[Unattributed report on PCI Directorate member Gian Carlo Pajetta 26 March talk in Budapest: "The Nature of Our Internationalism"]

[Text] Budapest--Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta, who headed the PCI delegation to the 12th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress, has taken part in a meeting of workers at the Ikarusz Bus Plant in an industrial quarter of Budapest. During the meeting Pajetta talked to the Ikarusz workers about the PCI's line and options in the present international situation.

The PCI, which represents one-third of our country's voters and has 1.8 million members, Pajetta began, sends greetings to your congress. It is a warm greeting, addressed to Hungary, to those involved in socialist building and to their party.

We are following with great interest your experience, behind which there lies a long history of battles and difficult tests. It is from history that you have learned how dangerous any simplification would be and how damaging would be the abandonment of the quest for the truth or of the denunciation of errors and difficulties, to make way for bombast, which is always a source of misunderstandings and blindness, and which must be paid for dearly. Your work over the years under Comrade Kadar's wise and courageous leadership has been very important for us. It has renewed our faith in the Hungarian revolutionary movement and has strengthened our belief that those who have faith in the major ideals of socialism can overcome even the most difficult tests.

At this congress we learned once again from Comrade Kadar's report how emphasis placed on the ground already covered must serve above all as an indication of how far there is still to go, not to conceal the obstacles that must be surmounted but to appeal for the effort that still has to be made.

We Italian communists, Pajetta continued, are now faced with a serious crisis situation. In fact our country's crisis is part of the more general crisis of capitalism and, at the same time, of the difficulties and troubles afflicting the entire world. And it is in this situation that we are seeking the path along which our people can emerge from the crisis and start moving toward a thorough social regeneration with the cooperation of everyone who wants a real change for our country and for the entire world.

This is why we reject the method of propaganda statements; we refuse to restrict ourselves to condemning the errors in the policy of our adversaries or of those who do not oppose them effectively enough, since we could not gain much if we lacked any indication of positive solutions and any ability to rally the forces capable of implementing these solutions.

An Appeal for Reason To Prevail

We must therefore proceed from what has been achieved (namely the resistance and the antifascist victory, the republican constitution and our working class' unitary experience) so as to understand the gravity of our country's present social, moral and political crisis, without resorting to simplifications or to an attempt to make others shoulder all the responsibility. Our greetings come from a Communist Party which has shown, and now reasserts, its trust in the masses and in the possibility of securing their consensus upon rational and feasible solutions to the crisis.

The problem of the advance to socialism, by means of participation and consensus, is therefore central not only to our party's theories, but also to its policy and daily activity. When we assert that it is now impossible to govern Italy without or against the communists, we are at the same time reasserting our willingness to play our own part responsibly and our willingness not to evade measuring ourselves against specific problems.

It is our country's situation which convinces us of the extreme gravity of the international situation, which has purely brought about our own country's crisis, which would deteriorate still further unless we manage to halt the process of the decline in detente. As for the arms race problem, we have asked that negotiations be held and at the same time that every unilateral act that could help to aggravate the danger be rejected. We communists, Pajetta pointed out, voted alone in Parliament against the proposal to deploy new U.S. missiles in NATO countries. But now we can see how even some of those who rejected our proposal for a moratorium, first and foremost the comrades of the Socialist Party, have begun to reflect and discuss. Major Catholic forces are also urging that the decision be reconsidered.

This is why we continue to appeal to all our country's men and women to insure that reason prevails at a time when, we believe, the alternative to detente on our continent and throughout much of the world is disaster. And this is also why we believe that the problems and tensions emerging in so many parts of the world cannot be resolved through trials of strength.

We have clearly expressed our stance with respect to the recent events in Afghanistan. We have maintained this position in the belief that a solution can only be found through negotiations attended by a nonaligned and independent Afghanistan, together with all the other countries wanting observance of the borders, sovereign rights and legitimate interests of every country, so that the interests of peace can prevail.

[LDO21319] And this is why we consider not only a wish, but a commitment, the remarks made at your congress about the desire to withdraw the foreign troops present in that country and to reach as soon as possible a solution ruling out foreign interference. As far as we Italian communists are concerned, it is our belief that everyone must display their own internationalism, not only by reasserting it verbally, but by showing that they can work in their own country more effectively, with respect to their own government, the social forces and the masses which must be involved.

The problem of unity is once again essential--indeed it presents itself with certain different aspects, though the history of the workers and revolutionary movement has seen ruptures, polemics and conflicts--even harsh ones. We believe more than ever--in this serious situation which poses difficult tasks for us but which also offers us new opportunities--that we must work to insure that the workers' forces can work together. This means communists, socialists, social democrats and other forces which organize the workers' representation in our country, including last, but certainly not least, the Catholic forces. This must take place, irrespective of, and despite, differences, contradictions and polemics, whether in the past or whether they still can divide us.

We believe that the socialist countries can and must--all of them--work together for peace and progress. We would be blind if we failed to see the diversities and even divergences and conflicts. We would be deaf if we failed to hear harsh comments and condemnations which we do not share, though we do try to understand their origins. But it is no mere figure of speech for us to say that we believe that objective thrusts and internationalist determination can prevail over splits. We believe that this must not be regarded as utopian. For that matter, we have never stopped believing in what others called utopia.

Despite harsh events and bitterness, experience has shown us that revolutionary will can embrace a historical outlook, transcending fleeting day-to-day considerations. We will not now stop hoping that our teachers' appeal of "proletarians of the world unite" will not go unheeded. It is in this spirit, Pajetta concluded, that we are looking to the future, that we are working now and that we address to you our internationalist greeting.

CSO: 3104

PCI'S BUFALINI ON EUROPEAN LEFT, AFGHANISTAN, DISARMAMENT, PRC

LD090831 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Mar 80 pp 1, 22 LD

[Report by Renzo Foa on PCI Directorate member Paolo Bufalini undated address to the PCI Rome Federation Steering Committee: "Our Ideas and Our Role"]

[Text] Rome--Is it true that the PCI has reached a turning point? "We are living in a period of crisis in all directions which demands the development and updating of our foreign policy, in which new stances and initiatives do indicate a turning point, though they stem from years and years of work," Paolo Bufalini said.

Bufalini was addressing a small, but select group. It was composed of the PCI Rome Federation Steering Committee and the PCI Latium Regional Committee. The purpose of the meeting was an exchange of ideas on world problems and problems of the international workers and communist movement. There was a very full agenda: The initiatives with respect to the "Euromissiles" and the disarmament negotiations; the underlying issues which the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has raised once again; the action to halt the "cold war" thrusts; a broader dialog within the European left, as symbolized by Berlinguer's meetings with Brandt and Mitterrand; the reestablishment of relations with the CCP with the imminent Beijing visit by a PCI delegation; and the recent polemic raised by the PCF.

There are so many questions requiring an answer because, Bufalini said, "We must make all our comrades understand the PCI's new role in a phase such as the present, which offers major opportunities in the struggle against imperialism and power policies and for peace and a new internationalism." One of the first answers concerns the plan to impart a thrust "to the policy of the unity of the forces of peace and progress throughout the world, the leftwing peace-loving forces in Europe and the democratic forces in Italy" so as to tackle the various aspects of the world crisis, and above all the crisis now affecting peaceful coexistence.

Is there any alternative to detente?

"I see no possibility of a return to 'cold war.'" Bufalini said: "Only to some of its more episodic forms, the 'cold war' was something else in another historical phase. Now unless peaceful coexistence is resumed and reinvigorated, there will be a difficult to contain and therefore disastrous war."

In his summary of the crisis factors, Bufalini discussed the weapons balance in which, however, it has proved impossible--even through SALT II--to reach a reduction, while military spending has created great obstacles to development both in the socialist countries and throughout the world; he discussed nuclear proliferation and monitoring problems when--as is forecast--20 countries will soon have nuclear weapons; he discussed the economic crisis, underdevelopment, the energy issue, overpopulation in the most backward areas, mankind's relationship with the environment--that is, everything which demands closer international cooperation for a better use of resources at a time when a billion people are living below the bare subsistence level. These are some of the points in the innovative and complex nature of the present world crisis on which bipolarism has reached a deadlock.

"We acknowledge," Bufalini said, "that the two major powers' role is certainly the most important one, but also that it is in no way sufficient unto itself. Other peoples and groups of peoples not only want to but do count. And therefore other groups of forces--I am thinking of the democratic, leftwing and workers forces--are called on to make a contribution to the quest for a new world economic and political order in view of the crisis of bipolarism."

This quest, Bufalini emphasized, has seemed blurred recently, even in the socialist countries and in the world workers movement's strategy. "We have said," he added, "that the world has changed because there are now the socialist societies and we have seen the importance of the link between the growth of the socialist reality and its strength and the universal interests of peace. We believe that the struggle against imperialism must not be restricted to opposition in the various individual areas, but must be the united struggle of the various revolutionary and progressive forces of socialism for the universal cause of peace, the emancipation of all peoples and workers and the progress of all mankind. Even in 1948, when Stalin made the mistake of imposing his own model on the East European countries in response to the 'cold war' and the 'roll-back,' that is, the attempt to push back socialism's borders, the advance of socialism was never tied to the prevalence of a military presence but to the conflict between imperialism and capitalism and the peoples seeking to liberate themselves."

Can we not now see in Iran, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe how revolutions are taking place along original roads? Can we not see them emerging as nonbloc and nonpartisan thrusts, but as assertions of universal values?

But a discussion of the thrust toward the logic of blocs also implies a reexamination of the major split in the international movement, namely China.

Bufalini cited Berlinguer's speech at the 1969 Moscow Communist Party conference, when the PCI signed only one of the four documents approved. At that time--and this is one aspect of the many years' work which has led to the present turning point--Berlinguer posed the issue of relations with the Chinese Communists with a view to coming to terms with reality not in terms of an excommunication, but in terms of a comparison, the necessary criticism of erroneous positions, but also the quest for solutions to the conflicts, within observance of the fundamental principles of international life and with a view to creating a new world economic and political order guaranteeing justice and free and autonomous development to all peoples.

The invocation of principles, of the clear and specific lines of such a perspective--as we did at the 15th PCI congress, Bufalini said--is a path which we must follow rigorously: We must no longer use diplomatic language; we must be clear and speak explicitly, whether struggling against imperialism or criticizing both CPSU and CCP stances which we consider mistaken.

"And this is not a policy of isolation if--having a full awareness of the crisis and realizing that we have reached the point at which the old orders will no longer stand up--we set ourselves the task of helping to reinvigorate detente with our strength as a party bound to its national responsibilities and committed to a policy of unity (which is certainly nothing new: You merely have to remember Togliatti's appeal in 1954 and his 1963 Bergamo speech, both addressed to the Catholic world) against the threat of war and for the peoples' emancipation."

Have we maintained a correct line on the "Euromissiles?"

Bufalini reviewed this line: "We did not," he said, "deny a priori that there could be a problem regarding an imbalance in the European area, where various political factors have exerted an influence--ranging from the USSR, which feels encircled by hostile military bases, to the recovery from the 'Vietnam complex' in America and the Soviet's capacity for intervention, including military intervention, in a country such as Afghanistan. We asked the government to propose a 6-month postponement of a decision on whether to construct the American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles and at the same time to propose a halt to construction and deployment of the Soviet SS-20's.

"Even the cancellation clause [clausola della dissolvenza] proposed by the Italian Socialist Party," Bufalini added, "could have been effective in improving the prospects of negotiations, if it had been kept firm and had not been transformed into nothing more than a wish. This is how our action has been linked to major Italian and European socialist, social democratic and Catholic forces.

"But unless we had pursued an objective and nonpartisan line, inspired by the quest for truth and the general interests of detente and peace, if we had allied solely with the communist parties and simply said 'no' to the

U.S. missiles, would we have achieved these results? That is, the result of exerting an influence, of helping to shift so many forces' attention onto the resumption of negotiations?"

Another fundamental issue is Afghanistan.

"We know the history," Bufalini said. "It is the tragic history of a party split into factions and groups which have clashed violently and progressively eliminated one another, the history of an agrarian reform imposed from above, the history of a revolution lacking sufficient popular support, the history of a gradual Soviet military involvement...."

We know it now, Bufalini noted coincidentally, and here too we must not continue with the method of discovering the truth only when confronted with a fait accompli: We discovered that genocide was taking place in Kampuchea when the Vietnamese troops entered Phnom Penh and also what kind of revolution was going on in Afghanistan when the Soviet troops reached Kabul.

"We have nothing against Karmal," he added, returning to the threat of his argument, "but only against the way things have happened: It is not the same as when the volunteers went to Republican Spain when it was under attack from the fascists or like the internationalist support given to the Vietnamese people or the Cuban backing for the Angolans combating adversaries supported by South Africa and other foreign regimes. In Afghanistan we have witnessed the collapse of a regime whose foundations were weak, which brought about its own downfall, and which was followed by the intervention of a foreign army."

"World reaction was such that the net result for the cause of detente and for the Soviets certainly cannot be described as positive. The violation of certain rules of coexistence spreads insecurity everywhere. If the principle of intervention prevails, where would it lead?"

And so we came to the two final points: Berlinguer's meeting with Mitterrand and Berlinguer's imminent visit to China.

Why did the conversation between the PCI secretary general and the French Socialist Party secretary take place now?

"For 3 years," Bufalini pointed out, "Mitterrand has been expressing interest in meeting with Berlinguer. On other occasions the PCF has asked us not do so, always asserting that the time was not ripe. This time Berlinguer told Marchais on 16 March that the meeting would take place because it lay within the context of our policy of relations with the European left. Indeed, the central point is to work with those who prove willing to form an association among European communist and socialist forces, partly to insure that government are not the only ones to exert an influence in this difficult international phase."

Last, China. Why now?

"For 20 years we have been publicly proposing a resumption of relations between the parties. They have always said 'no': In fact they never replied. But when Hua Guofeng came to Roma early in November, he met with Berlinguer and told him: 'I hope to see you soon in Beijing.' This was followed by an invitation. In our meetings hitherto we have told the Chinese comrades what we think and have not concealed the diversity of our respective assessments of foreign relations. We are going to this meeting because China exists, because it exerts an influence in the world, because it is a reality and because for everyone it constitutes a problem which must be faced in connection with detente and peace. China's development as a major modern and peaceful country on socialist foundations, with an effort on all sides to surmount the conflicts between China and the Soviet Union and in the international communist and workers movement. Many important things have been changing in China." Bufalini concluded: "We hope that a resumption of sincere relations, inspired by clarity, can make some contribution in this direction."

CSO: 3140

MARXIST-LENINIST ORGAN RETORTS TO ANTI PARTY DOCUMENT

Florence NUOVA UNITA in Italian 8 Mar 80 p 3

[Article: "Falsifications and Antiparty Maneuvers"]

[Text] Members of the Provincial Committee of Florence have circulated a typed manuscript with which, by maintaining deviationist and frictionist positions, an attempt is being made to carry out an antiparty maneuver. We must make a few observations so that no one, misled by the falsifications of the deviationists, will remain confused and have the slightest credence in those individuals. Even the statements of our party's secretary, present at two meetings, were falsified.

To carry out their maneuver, the deviationists attribute to the party position which have never existed: "that imperialism is currently confined to one group (the United States and its allies)"; "that the dangers of war come only from that camp"; "that the future prospects of the revolution are enhanced by the victory of the USSR"; "therefore," they conclude, "this should mean 'substantial support for socialimperialism'."

To anyone acquainted with our party's policy, it is obvious that these are falsehoods. In synthesis, even speaking schematically, we maintain (and it was thus stated at the meeting of the Provincial Committee of Florence) that the policy of the Soviet Union leaders is revisionist; that the dangers of war are particularly the result of rivalry between the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR; that the prospects of the revolution are not enhanced by the victory of the USSR as an imperialist power but by that of the people headed by the working class and guided by genuine communist parties, by Marxist-Leninist parties. In this context, we also augur the victory of the people, of the working class, of the true communists of the Soviet Union, who cannot in the least have vanished through the action of Khrushchev after decades of Bolshevik leadership, but who must fight to reestablish the just line of Lenin's and Stalin's party.

It must be considered that China's entry into the imperialist camp and the creation of a Washington-Western European-Peking-Tokyo axis constitute a coalition of forces, an economic and military power of such magnitude that it can exercise absolute and uncontested dominion over the entire world.

In this context, with respect to Afghanistan, we would have preferred to see that people establish its own democratic and progressive government in complete national independence without the need of foreign armies. Thus, we must now request the withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces with a corresponding guarantee of noninterference by American imperialism and its slaves. We are in favor of people's self-determination. When the American imperialists and the Chinese social-chauvinists were laying the groundwork in Afghanistan for striking at the heart of the Soviet Union, for unleashing a war which would bring the United States to absolute domination of the entire world, we maintained that those plans were completely contrary to the cause of peace and the very future of the Afghan people.

Communists cannot, either directly or indirectly, favor these plans of American imperialism and of the worst reactionaries of the entire world. Aside from words, which anyone can toss around and which are still only words, it is easy to slip into the game of American imperialism, somewhat treading upon the "theory of the three worlds." The design for domination and war entertained by the imperialists is not opposed by words, slogans or formulas, but by mobilizing the people and working class throughout the world, even worming their way into contradictions in favor of the cause of peace and revolution.

These are positions which are coherent with our party's third congress. The theses of this fundamental congress do not exclude, even imply, to be truly effective, not conversations around a table and diagrammatic formulas but concrete action which takes into account the developments of the situation, with the criterion--taught by Lenin--of being flexible in tactics but rigorously firm in the strategic objectives to be achieved.

The authors of the typewritten manuscript show that they do not know even the elementary norms of the life of a Leninist party, going so far as to declare that the members of the Central Committee, belonging to the Florence organization, would not have the right to participate in the provincial committee. It so happens that, according to the Leninist norms and the most valid rules of communist parties, this right not only exists but it is the duty of every member of the Central Committee, even if he does not belong to the local organization, to become involved as a national director for the party's successful operation in whatever area he happens to be.

Instead of continuing the discussion and helping strengthen the party and its line, the authors of the manuscript have tried to break up the party, engaging in the worst form of opportunism. Particularly deceitful in this maneuver is a certain A. Serafini, who revealed his old Trotskyism and anti-Stalinism (which he declared he had overcome), as well as a regurgitation of the most recent "Maoism" (it is not by chance that for years he has been the "head of a so-called Mao Tse-tung center). And he displays the filthy activity of an old Trotskyite manipulator particularly when he promotes a provocation aimed at putting wedges in internationalist relations between our party and our brother Marxist-Leninist parties. Here we have the callous Trotskyite in his Nth attempt to propose himself as "leader" coming to the

defense of principles. But a presumptuous, lower middle-class would-be intellectual, a vile manipulator like Serafini can gather only mud. These maneuvers are being carried out in an attempt to weaken our party's irreplaceable role at a time when the domestic and international situation is favorable to the development of a Leninist line and the matter of the revolution is increasingly current, when our organizations are becoming more deeply rooted among the workers, when our militants are struggling to expose top opportunistic union leaders, and when an increasing number of advanced workers are again finding in us the true communist party.

But even in this struggle against deviationists and manipulators, the party is becoming stronger and ever more firm.

8568

CSO: 3104

PCI MANEUVERS TO ENTER SOUTHERN BANKS

Milan IL GIORNALE NUOVO in Italian 22 Feb 80 p 22

[Article by Bruno Costi: "The PCI Is in the Process of Entering the Southern Banks"]

[Text] Exploitation of statute reforms.

Slow but sure progress toward the conquest of the centers of power.

Rome, 21 February--PCI [Italian Communist Party] progress toward the conquest of the major Italian banks continues slowly, but inexorably, and without pause. After the entry of PCI representatives into the Savings Bank of the Lombardy Provinces--the biggest savings bank in the world--into the Italcasse--which is the bank for the savings banks--and into the Monte dei Paschi in Siena, it now seems that the hour of the southern banks has arrived, in particular the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily.

The "key" that the PCI has used to enter the push button room of the southern banks is the reform of the statutes. This is a long process, started about a year ago when the then chairman of the Finance and Treasury Committee in the Chamber of Deputies, communist D'Alema, conditioned approval of an increase in funds to southern banks on a reform of their statutes. The PCI objective obviously on the one hand was to check the great power of the Christian Democrats with respect to banks, but on the other to substitute themselves for the Christian Democrats. And this is now happening, as is evident from the criteria used to modify the statutes of the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily, criteria that obviously the PCI would not want to see publicized. It is worth remembering that the statute of the Bank of Naples has already been presented to Minister of Treasury Pandolfi and has already been approved by the Interministerial Committee for Credit, while in the case of the Bank of Sicily, where the way seems more open to the PCI than in the case of the Neapolitan bank, no official committee deliberation has yet taken place.

An indication of the changes made in the statutes of these two banks is the greater "opening" accorded the regions in the election of the general

councils, bodies that in a partnership company are equivalent to a shareholders' meeting. And the greater "opening" to the regions and to the provinces--realized through designations of names for the election of representatives to the general council--could precisely indirectly lead to the entry of PCI representatives into the administrative councils of these banks. Let us see how. The election of a general council, consisting of 32 members, is planned for the Bank of Naples. Of these, as is known, the chairman and 5 other members are nominated by the government. These six members are nominated by the minister of the treasury and adjudication is made by the Committee for Credit. Another 21 members are elected by regional councils in the regions in which the Bank of Naples operates. Each of the councils is to designate three names to send to the council; this involves Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sardinia, and Abruzzi e Molise. The remaining members are elected--one for each province in which the Bank of Naples operates. And it is precisely through the designations of the provincial administrations that the PCI could derive the opportunity of sending their own representatives to the general council--from Naples, for example. Five representatives will then be chosen from the members of the general council, to be sent to the administrative council of the bank.

There is an analogous procedure for the Bank of Sicily. The general council is composed of 52 members, 9 of which are elected--one for each province in which the bank is located; 12 are elected by the chambers of commerce of these provinces; 12 by the regions in which the bank is located. Since in at least three regions (Lazio, Emilia, and Umbria) and in three provinces (Genoa, Florence, and Turin) the PCI is in the government, it turns out that also in the administrative council of the Bank of Sicily, more than in the Bank of Naples, there will be new PCI representatives. Begun when the communists were in the majority in the government, the PCI operation, "assault on the banks," is being brought to completion now that they are in the opposition. No two ways about it: hardly a proper technique--but an effective one.

8255
CSO: 3104

BUDGET MINISTER EXPLAINS POLICY ON INFLATION

Milan IL GIORNALE NUOVO in Italian 2 Mar 80 p 15

[Interview with Minister of Budget Nino Andreatta, by Alberto Mazzuca, of IL GIORNALE NUOVO; date and place not given: "Thirty Percent Inflation? Andreatta Is Not Pessimistic"]

[Text] "We must protect the exchange, contain demand, and act on costs."

Rome, 1 March--Rates are increasing everywhere. In the United States the prime rate is 16.75 percent; in Great Britain the base rate has gone to 18 percent. As of 10 March the German banks will raise the rate of interest payable on deposits 1 percent; in the middle of this week the Bundesbank raised the discount rate. Thursday Switzerland, too, moved in this direction, preceded by Belgium on Wednesday, and a couple of days before by Japan, Denmark, and the United States. In short, money costs more everywhere. First objective: to check inflation. Second objective: to attract capital in a world in which a few countries have increased their \$100 billion surplus and the others must finance an equivalent deficit.

In any case, inflation is the beast to tame--a beast that in Italy moves at a sustained rate, at a greater rate than that of all other countries. Confirmation was received a few days ago from Turin, the city that furnishes the first data on increases in the cost of living. In February the increase was 12.2 percent. This means that inflation is moving at an annual rate of 20 percent--a 20 percent that is about to change to 21 percent. We spoke of this with Minister of Budget Nino Andreatta at the end of the meeting of the Senate Budget Committee.

[Question] Mr Minister, there are those who fear that by the end of the year inflation definitely will be up to 30 percent...

[Answer] No, I don't think so. I am not so pessimistic.

[Question] But we are already up to about 21 percent...

[Answer] We implemented the policy that was indicated in the Three-Year Plan. We acted with two means in mind: containment of the budget deficit and the supply of money. We thought that these means would be enough to be able to recover. But that was not the case. Inflation increased. But the out of line element was inflation at the international level. The Three-Year Plan, for example, estimated that in the 1979-1980 two-year period the increase in world prices would approximate 15 percent. And instead this increase today is about 43 percent. The Three-Year Plan estimated a 16 percent increase in oil prices. Instead there was a 105 percent increase. There you have it; it seems to me that there was this great onslaught on the part of supply. We had to experience this increase in foreign prices, with respect to which no one anywhere in all the countries of the world has yet been able to find a suitable answer.

[Question] Should we then acknowledge defeat?

[Answer] It is difficult to isolate a country from the international context. At any rate, if I could have visualized the right moment for a suitable reply, well, I might perhaps already have had that answer. A revaluation of 10 percent in 1978 might perhaps have been useful to isolate us from this situation. I said so then as a private student with great uncertainty. Because one might then wonder if that wonderful initiative that we realized last year would have made port.

[Question] What wonderful initiative?

[Answer] In 1979 we gave employment to 400,000 persons and more than a quarter in industry. The tertiary theses all exploded in the face of the economic revival that we had.

[Question] A revaluation in 1978. But today?

[Answer] Today we can only contain the rate of exchange of the lira, follow the "guidelines" of a policy of restrained demand, act with all possible means on the dynamics of costs. However, if I look about at what we have done and have not done during these past 6 months, I must say that we have acted with seriousness in the containment of demand. During the first days of September we increased fiscal receipts by 1,300 billion, allotting them for expenditures that will mature in 3-4 years. At the end of September, we accepted the suggestions of the State Accounting Department and reduced the planned deficit of the public sector from 42,000 to 40,000 billion. Above all, together with the Bank of Italy, we decided to curb public indebtedness during the autumn-winter period--that is, the most dangerous period in terms of inflation. Unlike 1978, when the estimated

amount for public expenditures was spent, this year--with the help of parliament and of the radicals--we made an effort to spend less than the estimated expenditures.

[Question] You did not, then, spend all that was planned...

[Answer] That's right. And thus the Bank of Italy was able to realize a very contained policy with regard to the creation of money. Then two increases in the discount rate were effected at the right moment and in the right amount. I was the very one who, on the occasion of the second increase, caused the scale to tip in favor of the higher proposal, that of the three points.

[Question] But there was an increase in rates...

[Answer] This increase was seen as an inflationary element. And instead it affected January prices only by 0.23 percent. With that increase we succeeded instead in deflating expenditures by 2,000 billion, an amount that would have entered the economic cycle. In short, in that case we sterilized those 2,000 billion. And this decision completed the constraint that repressed an overactive economy. The only thing that was not done was to use the monetary policy as an instrument to upset the economy. That is, we did not create chaos as when, on the occasion of the miraculous rescues of the 60's, enterprises had to hastily start up again, with the consequent spreading of a chain of insolvencies.

[Question] What do you think, then, of these past 6 months? Absolution or guilt?

[Answer] In October, in economic policy documents, we said that we would continue to maintain firm restraints, regardless of the status of inflation. And we have kept to this premise. But we did not realize the counteroffensive against the dynamics of the indicator. Because it is clear that we are running the risk of echoing curbed inflation; and this because the indicators may prolong inflation. Thus, on this point, we have not been very successful up to now. In addition we are defending ourselves against the pressure exerted by all of the political parties; also by those who had spread the rumor that I was an inflationary-type minister. Well, at the end of the discussion, all of the parties presented a small package of requests to the Budget Committee in the amount of 3,000 billion: one part for allocation funds, one part for the methanization of the South, one part for new public works. My conclusion is this: if we do not support a greater inflationary thrust, if we keep a good watch on the exchange, if our actions take the budget deficit and the supply of money into account, the expectation of a deceleration of inflation in the second half of 1980 should be realized. If in the meantime a free rein is permitted with respect to increases in the cost of labor, the adjustment will then be more difficult, returns will decrease, and unemployment will increase.

LABOR PARTY CHAIRMAN STEEN COMMENTS ON PARTY UPHEAVAL

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 2 Feb 80 p 6

[Interview with Labor Party Chairman Reiulf Steen, by Thor Viksveen: "Serious Consequences if the Debate Continues"; date and place not given]

[Text] Reiulf Steen appeals for calmness in the labor movement. If the debate which is now going on is allowed to continue it will have very serious consequences for the labor movement.

I have no problems in understanding the reactions against the appointment of Per Vassbotn as undersecretary.

The debate which now is going on has parallels to the situation the Labor Party was in before the national meeting in 1975.

As the party's chairman it is not my task to judge or condemn statements which have been made.

I am not afraid that what is now taking place will shake the confidence in the political leadership in the Labor Party.

The steady demands for moderation which have been made on the trade movement have generated an irritation and dissatisfaction which now get their release.

These are some of the points view the chairman of the Labor Party, Reiulf Steen, expresses in this interview with ARBEIDERBLADET about the present internal situation in the labor movement.

[Question] What comments do you have on the letter Tor Aspengren has sent you as chairman of the Labor Party?

[Answer] I have consistently said that I do not want to comment on Aspengren's letter before it has been discussed in the party's organs. The central administration has been called in for Monday and will discuss the case then.

[Question] What do you expect will come out of this meeting and the subsequent national administration meeting and the big joint meeting between the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions and the party?

[Answer] The most important goal is to lay a political foundation for the tasks we are confronted with. It is my concept that the European and international situation at this time is the most difficult and most worrisome since the Berlin bridge at the end of the 1940's.

In addition to the fact that we experience an acute international atmosphere, the international economy also confronts us with challenges of a nature and with a content which we have not encountered before. The goal--and I hope these meetings will contribute to that--is to confront the formidable political tasks we are approaching. They will require everything we have of forces and capacity to stick together.

[Question] One of the intentions of the meeting activity must, however, be to clarify the internal problems in the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Party?

[Answer] I hope nobody will leave these meetings without having said what they have to say.

[Question] Do you expect a "settlement"?

[Answer] I count on an airing and to the extent that pollution occurs there must be clean air.

[Question] As the chairman of the Labor Party, what is your evaluation of the internal situation in the labor movement right now?

[Answer] We have a period with price and wage freezes behind us. This has been an enormous test for the maturity and feeling of responsibility in the trade movement. The trade movement has survived this test by renouncing its most important tasks for 15 months, namely to negotiate about income and working conditions. Then we are experiencing that when this period runs out, it is again the trade movement which meets the demands from the employers, the social economists and many others. I understand quite well that many professional representatives in such a situation have a feeling that it is them alone who must bring the Norwegian social economy safely through the international crisis. What we now need is a broad social solidarity, which places demands not on the professionally organized alone, but on all groups.

It is obvious that there is a broad register of reasons for the problems we are confronted with. After the oil crisis in 1973 we started a counter-trend policy with a strong increase in national consumption and people's living standard and with direct support measures for part of the industry. Because the international crisis lasted longer than predicted, the

government had to reverse the economic policy in the fall of 1977 with price and wage freezes as the most dramatic measures. This took place very quickly and contributed no doubt to internal discussion and conflicts both in the party and with respect to the professionally organized. All the economic measures were still accepted to a surprising degree. I personally find it completely natural that irritation and discontent was restrained in this period, and I believe it is this restrained discontent which now has been discharged.

[Question] Do you feel that the relationship between the trade movement and the political part of the labor movement is more strained than for a long time?

[Answer] One can never draw a sharp division between the trade and the political labor movement. Some of the most outstanding trade representatives sit both in the central administration and in the government. On the other hand, completely central party representatives sit in the secretariat of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions.

It is natural that a government sometimes has other considerations to take than the trade movement. That's how it should be. Previously we have always managed to solve this through contact and discussions. We must manage that this time too, and as chairman of the party I personally feel a special responsibility that it will occur.

[Question] But is not the explanation for the problems one is struggling with now precisely the lack of contact and discussions?

[Answer] In one of his books Einar Gerhardsen writes that people should talk more with each other. He is no doubt right about that. It is an extenuating circumstance that all those people involved here have an unusually strong work pressure. The situations we have been through, however, show that contact and discussions must be given the highest priority.

[Question] But we have heard that before. The contact problem came into focus especially in connection with the claims about the annual collaboration relationships between you as party chairman and the prime minister. Will the improvement of the contact be only talk?

[Answer] The government works together extremely well, and during the few months the new crew has operated it is my impression that the communication has been good. However, I want to repeat that the existing problems in my opinion must be considered to be the after effects of accumulated irritation.

[Question] Do you understand the reactions which have appeared among many in the trade movement and the party against the appointment of Per Vassbotn as under secretary because he does not have what is considered to be the necessary political background to have such a high position?

[Answer] I myself have a very traditional background, and it is therefore not difficult for me to understand the reactions. On the other hand, the labor movement in the 1980's and 1990's must turn toward and be open to new groups and also develop in part new working methods. We must manage that without cutting the ties to our traditions and to the groups which have always been among our most faithful.

As easy as it is to describe this task, just as difficult will it be to solve it without creating friction, yes, even explosions, on the way. The problem is not solved by fleeing from it.

[Question] When the attacks become so gross and from completely central representatives in the labor movement, are you not afraid that one is about to shake up the confidence itself in the political leadership in the labor party?

[Answer] If it had not been for the fact that all those who are implicated are people with such deep roots in the labor movement I would have felt a greater fear than I do. However, one must realize that it involves people who talk straight out and that some formulations may seem strong to outside observers. However, by saying this I do not want to play down the case itself. We will treat it with the seriousness it requires.

[Question] Isn't what is taking place now dangerous for the Labor Party's support among the voters?

[Answer] If it is allowed to continue indefinitely it may have very important consequences. I clearly remember the situation we had before the national meeting in 1975. It was very harmful to the party.

[Question] Are you drawing parallels between the situation at that time and now?

[Answer] All internal strife, especially strife focused upon contras ; between the representatives, weakens the support for a political party.

[Question] Those who have created the situation which now has occurred cannot be of the same opinion?

[Answer] I do not feel it is my task to judge or condemn other people's actions. As chairman it is my most important task in this situation to contribute as much as possible to gather the party to work on the political problems.

[Question] Are you yourself disappointed over the hard attacks which have come from many areas against the appointment of Vassbotn?

[Answer] I believe we should push the Vassbotn case aside. However, we have received very clear and important signals that everything is not as

it should be, and I take that seriously. As compared to this, my personal feelings are quite uninteresting.

[Question] Are you afraid that this battle may have consequences for the solution of the closest political tasks, as, for instance, the wage settlement?

[Answer] I do not believe so. All those who sit in decision organizations are people with a high feeling of responsibility to those they have been elected by and to society. Of course, we must be reminded again that neither persons nor parties and organizations exist for their own purpose, but that we have as a task to solve problems in society.

[Question] It has been indicated that an extraordinary national meeting should be set up before the regular national meeting next year. How do you look at that?

[Answer] The national meeting, which will take place in approximately a year and a half [sic], must approve of a new working program and a new program of principles. We need that time and all the forces we have to prepare this national meeting. A splitting fight would set us back far, and it will take years to regain what is lost. There are obviously no responsible people in the labor movement who want to trigger such a situation.

[Question] Are you convinced about that?

[Answer] I am convinced about precisely that on the basis of information I have about the movement and the people involved. So there is obviously always a danger that the events can develop as a consequence of their own weight, but that is in no way the situation now.

[Question] You have made it completely clear that you will be sitting in the national meeting in 1981. Do you intend to continue to fight for the chairman position at the coming national meeting?

[Answer] I do not want to give any incentive which might develop a splitting personnel debate. We were dangerously close to paralysis before the national meeting in 1975. The party will not be able to stand a similar stress in the present situation.

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LABOR PARTY SECRETARY TRYGVE BRATTELI DISCUSSES LIFE, POLICIES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 11 Jan 80 p 7

[Article and interview by Rolf V. Amdal: "You May Call Me the Sphinx..."]

[Text] Today the elder statesman of Norwegian politics celebrates his 70th birthday. Trygve Bratteli himself probably is not excited about that. In a conversation which we had with him, he said, for example, "I have been around so long that in a number of organizations I was first the youngest, and later the oldest." Bratteli has always been reserved when personal matters were brought up. He has always thought such matters immaterial and distracting compared to the political tasks at hand. Focusing on Trygve Bratteli's person apparently conflicts with his view of how political work should be accomplished, namely through broad collective cooperation. In such a framework, individuals are not important. In this interview Bratteli loosens his reserve and gives an especially frank and open picture of himself as a man and a politician.

The Key

One of the keys to understanding the politician and the man Trygve Bratteli will be found if we go back to the years when he was unemployed in his home town of Notteroy, and to the cooperative atmosphere and collective spirit which permeated work in the labor youth movement during the years between the wars, when Bratteli began as a politician.

This is how he answered when we asked him how his life of political activity formed him as a man. "I joined the first working class youth group in strongly conservative Notteroy in May 1928. It is easy to see how living in such a collective in a hostile environment would be very formative. For me personally and for the others who were with us it was like living through the birth pains of the labor movement. They prepared themselves a generation before that time along the Drammen River, in the towns of

Vestfold, and in other places. It was significant that we came up against an entirely closed society. We were without work and literally penniless during long periods of the year.

"It was necessary for us to find out how we got that way, and to find a way out of that closed society. We saw the problems of youth as the unaccomplished tasks of the society, so the most active of us were from the beginning largely occupied with political economics."

A Life for the Labor Movement

The pressure of extended unemployment made an impression in several ways. Bratteli said that his reaction, when he was offered a permanent job for the first time as editor in Kirkenes, was a consequence of that pressure. The job was offered by the former chairman of the Labor Party, Oscar Torp.

"According to Torp, I looked him squarely in the eye and said that he should not joke about such things," said Bratteli with a slow smile. Since 1934 his life has been controlled by the labor movement. At that time he became editor of ARBEIDERUNGDOMMEN. Since then he has never been employed at a job, and has never sought a job. He has taken on the tasks that he was asked to assume.

[Interview begins]

[Question] That led to, among other things, your becoming chairman of the Labor Party and prime minister. Have you ever been in doubt as to whether you should accept a position of trust which you were asked to take?

[Answer] Usually all such developments have been like links in a chain of events, and it was seldom that there were any great surprises. But there have also been a number of coincidences. For example, it just so happened that I was in Oslo during all the confusion in the spring of 1940 and I was asked to manage the party office. When I returned from Germany on 15 May 1945 I started to work the next day at the party office, and was first appointed, later elected as the deputy chairman of the party and head of the party office. Our generation was brought up to do the jobs assigned to us. Basically it was a period when I asked myself if it was right for me to base my future on an election every other year. That was when I had a family and small children. But I carried on and I have never had any difficulties. All elections have been unanimous.

What Will Be, Will Be

[Question] You have said that you have a philosophy of life, that what will be, will be. How have you brought this philosophy in line with your desire to be a leader?

[Answer] I have very seldom thought about it. There has been talk about collective thought, but it is not good leadership to talk that way. I have never been absolutely sure about the correctness of ideas that I have arrived at through meditation or through conversations with others. Therefore I have never thought that it is degrading or personally annoying to accept viewpoints which are the result of collective negotiations.

Retain Composure

[Question] You have become known for your ability to retain your composure when the stress is greatest. It has been said about you that you are happiest when the situation is the most critical.

[Answer] If I have that trait in common with anyone, it must be my mother. After I entered into what would be my political life, spokesmen for others in all matters, I have always deliberately tried to develop this quality. One of those people that I observed in that connection was Oscar Torp. He had endless patience when he needed it. If the actor begins to get excited, I become the observer. I can actually feel like an observer in matters in which I am deeply involved. But I have now and then observed that if I judge the situation to be one in which it is important to retain my composure, I then want to see who can deprive me of it. That was especially true after I had moved up into the higher positions, both in the party and in the government. I know that within myself, when the situation seems the most difficult, I just become happier and happier. And that is obviously an advantage.

[Question] But has anyone ever caused you to lose your composure?

[Answer] Basically no, and anyhow not in the last 20 years.

Melancholy and Introverted

[Question] You have been called the sphinx of Norwegian politics. How do you react to such a label?

[Answer] That does not bother me. Not in the least. In many ways I can understand it. In my youth I was unemployed for a total of 5 years. I had 10 siblings. I lived at home until I was 24 and I can say that during that period I became very melancholy, introverted, and talked very little. I was fully aware that I was very reserved. Obviously one can never get over that entirely, and it was thus during the most of my time in the country. Basically it was after I first married Randi that I loosened up more, if one can say that. As late as the first years of our marriage I could sit in a relatively small gathering and be silent the entire evening. But Randi wanted to make me aware that it was a little annoying to others. But even that feeling of isolation, if I may say so, I shed a number of years ago. One other thing which contributed to that was the last winter of the war in Germany. That was a terrible winter. Half of my fellow prisoners died.

That had a powerful effect on me. We survivors lay there and talked all winter. I must say that that was when I first learned to know myself. Whether we talked about simple or complicated things, I was always reserved. I suppose that those who knew me before the war would classify me among those who were very impressed by a pair of ideas which have always been present in the Norwegian labor movement, namely puritanism and piety. I was a perfect example of this. My family came from strong Christian origins. I was very pious, and conscious of it. And so at that time I was not very happy about it. But during that winter in Germany I cleared up in my own mind what I wanted to value and what I wanted to free myself from, if I ever came out of prison. My basic principle of life became that one should not seek out sorrow. It will always come. One should seek out happiness for one's own sake. I established a number of new goals for myself. I have never regretted that. I definitely prepared myself to make the labor movement a service by answering the call, and I found what happiness life gives. First the principle, and then the practice.

"Gjovik Resolution"

[Question] In his memoirs Haakon Lie wrote that as prime minister you had strong doubts about the correctness of the so-called "Gjovik resolution" before the referendum on EF [European Free Trade Association]. You make it clear that the government would resign if the result of the referendum was negative. Were you in doubt?

[Answer] In a democratic country situations can arise under certain conditions when a government has the duty to make it clear what its position is--such as when there is a referendum. A referendum can not be used as a Gallup poll. That would be nonsense. The government's position was definitely approved in a relatively long and well-recorded meeting at Gjovik on the morning of the day I was to speak. I am fairly certain that the government was unanimous in the view that I should make it clear that if the referendum went against the government, the government would resign. To me it is just as obvious today as it was then.

[Question] Therefore you were never in doubt about the Gjovik resolution?

[Answer] When the government stated its position right after it was formed that it would begin negotiations for membership in the EF, everything else followed as a matter of course. For me it was important that I was then and am now convinced that Norway's future lies in broad European cooperation. Also it is important that Norway today is just as integrated into the economy of Western Europe as we would have been if we had become members. The difference is that through the referendum we now stand outside the political organs of the EF.

No Impulsive Actions

[Question] It has been said that you never react impulsively and that everything is planned. But did it not conflict with that when in the

summer of 1974, a year before the Labor Party congress, you announced that you would resign as party chairman unless there was a debate on the central plan?

[Answer] There is only one central organ which chooses the party chairman, and that is the party congress. But this had a long background. For my own part I realized that when I was 55 years old, and 55 is regarded as a much higher age when one is there than when one is 20 years older, if I was elected party chairman it would be for a relatively limited period. I was for myself the entire time, but that was one of the things I did not talk about, realizing that it would be at most 10 years before there must be a new change. So it was not on any impulse of mine that I was elected in 1965 and ran again in 1975. It was a link in what I regarded as a natural process.

What Should One Do?

[Question] But still the fact remains that your announcement that you wanted to withdraw led to a difficult debate within the party over who should be your successor?

[Answer] But what should one do? I saw no other way to do it. I could not make a deal with someone that he should be my successor. There is only one organ which can decide that, and that is the party congress. I made it clear that I would retire during the congress of 1975 to open the way for the mental and other preparations for choosing a successor.

[Question] Did you have any particular successor in mind?

[Answer] No.

Out of Stubborness

[Question] The result of the party congress in 1975 was a compromise in which it became clear that someone else would take over as prime minister after you. Was it out of stubbornness that you continued to sit as prime minister after that?

[Answer] No. It was because the party congress did not apply any pressure at all on me to agree to any kind of withdrawal or anything of that kind. What was said was mainly that the new party chairman who was elected should not be a candidate for prime minister. And it was said who should be the prime minister when circumstances required that I step down. There was no time limit set or anything like that.

What Now?

[Question] Have you thought about your future political life?

[Answer] No, I have not thought much about that. I expect that the long stretch of my life which has been based on elections is ebbing out. In any case I see it as my duty to put my files in order.

LABOR PARTY MEETING FAILS TO RESOLVE AUTOMATION ISSUE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Feb 80 p 2

[Editorial: "The Labor Party and Reality"]

[Text] Adapting politics to the new and contradictory reality will no doubt result in special problems for the Labor Party. We are continuously seeing examples of how antiquated socialist doctrines still seem to dominate the party's political thinking and go far to make a realistic policy impossible for the 1980's. It is significant that when the Labor Party last week took the data technology up in a larger conference in Oslo, the chairman in the principal program committee, Einer Forde, indicated the possibility of a worker veto against a new and labor-saving technology. It is probably not possible to turn one's back more emphatically on a development which simply is a crucial condition if the industrial countries are to be able to meet with constructive political means.

We can readily understand that the chairman of the program committee needs to bring clarity in his own world of ideas and that he would like to test his point of view on others. Who knows--through the method of elimination he might possibly make a serious contribution to the discussion about the problems of the data revolution. We still suspect that Forde's statement about the "veto right" was not a pure test balloon, yes, that it must rather be taken as an expression of an antiquated political attitude, which our governing party obviously is not able to get rid of. In this case it is primarily the attitude to the profitability concept itself.

One basic weakness in the Labor Party's policy is that the party seems as if it would never recognize that a company must run with a surplus, that the production must be profitable in order for the jobs to be safe and in order for the companies to be able to expand in a new activity, with new jobs. If a company is operated at a loss, the jobs are not saved by denying reality.

In the Labor Party's national administration meeting, which was concluded in Tonsberg yesterday afternoon, the party's chairman, Reiulf Steen, gave a thought-provoking introductory speech where he naturally enough also touched

on the effects of the data technology. Steen was no more able than anybody else to give any patent solution to the problems which follow from the technical development and which millions of unemployed experience as the big nightmare. But, in any case, the party chairman made it clear that he recognizes the actual problem. "It is not true," he said, "that the trade movement and the labor movement can only take control over the technology and with a simple operation turn the development around for the best outcome. We are confronted with a long series of involved and extensive problems, which, for one thing, are related to our external economy. If a completely different policy is being conducted in other countries, the question may be: How far are we willing to go to control the technology if the consequence will be a reduced standard of living?"

This is the crux of the matter. Confronted with these challenges, Reiulf Steen is right in saying that the Labor Party's message can easily seem somewhat oldish, yes, as old answers to new questions. Mr. Forde should also note that.

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CONSERVATIVES' NEXT CHAIRMAN ATTACKS LABOR PARTY POLICY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "Benkow: Hesitation and Doubt Continue to Characterize the Labor Party Government"]

[Text] The first vice chairman of the Conservative Party, Jo Benkow, sharply criticizes the Labor Party's undecisive government.

"The Nordli government's tendency to hesitate, postpone and fumble has created uncertainty both in the Federation of Trade Unions, among the local associations in the Labor Party and the entire organizational life it normally gets support from," said the first vice chairman of the Conservative Party, member of parliament Jo Benkow in Troms section of the Conservative Party on Saturday. The government's lack of leadership is a fact which affects us all," said Benkow. "The government does not make decisions until they absolutely have to do something. Its indecisiveness is just as conspicuous as before. And the Labor Party's internal problems are bigger than the public has realized."

"The lack of confidence in the government which has been noticeable among people for a long time is now just as noticeable inside the government party itself," maintained Benkow, who continued: "There must be something seriously wrong when one no longer has confidence among one's own." Then there must be a certain understanding for the fact that the confidence is failing among the majority of people who are not in any direct relationship to the government and the administration of the Labor Party.

The Labor Party's own people must try to solve the problem as well as they can. The first vice chairman of the Conservative Party pointed out that it is a type of confidence and leadership crisis which the rest of us have no possibilities for intervening in. The government's lack of ability to act and lack of resolution combined with tactically founded slowness leads to a series of problems which could have been avoided if one had been able to act in time.

"As long as the government continues to disregard and avoid basic problems, it will at even intervals be overcome by events which make necessary crisis measures and dramatic decisions characterized by panic," continued Member of Parliament Benkow. "The government does not make decisions until the situation has become so critical that one absolutely has to do something. Usually too late and without the positive effect it has if it acts in time. An accordion policy which is characterized by each day having enough of its own problems will not contribute to solve the basic problems we struggle with," he emphasized.

The first vice chairman of the Conservative Party also accused the government of demanding a moderation of others which it itself is completely unable to live up to. He referred to the introduction of the wage and price freeze in the fall of 1978 as a desperate emergency solution. "Many people hoped that the government had become wise from its mistakes. But unfortunately. Now they are carrying on as before. The government's national budget for 1980 does not contain any contribution to moderation. The inflation policy is still the prescription. It is difficult to combine such a policy with the demand for moderation in wage demands. The only sure result continues to be uncontrolled wage increases

"It is unreasonable to demand that each wage earner must feel personally responsible for moderation when the government lets the public budget continue to grow independent of the demand for moderation," said Benkow. He reminded us that the Conservative Party has each year proposed reductions in the government expenses in the billion class without lowering our social standard and without affecting those in the weakest positions.

"We must not forget that in times with unemployment it is the large groups at an average wage level which are struck the hardest. Moderation today does not involve increasing the owner income. It simply involves a fight for full employment.

"Already now thousands of units are kept alive through extended credit and support arrangements. It actually involves companies which are not able to pay the wages which are being paid out.

"We must gather all forces to guarantee profitable and meaningful employment in the next 10 years," said Benkow. "The challenge of the 1980's appears clear. The problem is to guarantee profitable and meaningful work for everybody who can and will work. In this work it is not possible to improvise emergency solutions. This is what has been done so far, and what we do this year will decide whether it is possible to guarantee full employment through the next 10 years."

Grumbling in the Labor Party Unknown to Nordli

"The ability of the government to act is not weakened," said Prime Minister Odvar Nordli on the radio on Saturday in a comment to Jo Benkow's sharp

criticism of the government and his description of the unrest in the government party. Nordli said he had not noticed any "grumbling" in the Labor Party's local teams.

The prime minister reported that he now wanted to have a direct discussion with the trade movement about the disagreements which appeared. Otherwise Nordli did not find it surprising that disagreement had arisen in the party and in the trade movement. In recent years it has been necessary to conduct a policy where we, for one thing, have had to reject reform requirements and where the tightening-up measures have hurt the individual.

With regard to the criticism from Member of Parliament Benkow, Nordli said, for one thing: "It is completely natural that the future chairman of the Conservative Party will cling to a debate like this one to weaken the Labor Party and the government."

The chairman of the party, Minister of Trade Reiulf Steen, touched on something of the same when he was interviewed about the party's problems in "Political Quarter." He warned strongly against a splitting personal fight like the one before the national meeting in 1975: "It will only help to damage and weaken the party's position. The Labor Party cannot stand such a stress now," Steen told ARBEIDERBLADET on Saturday. He confirmed that former chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions, Tor Aspengren's letter will be presented to the central administration today. Otherwise he appealed strongly to get people in the party to gather forces now about the big political tasks we are confronted with, nationally and internationally, and also in order to be able to run as strongly as possible in the important parliamentary election next year.

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PAPER DISCUSSES STANDS OF JO BENKOW, NEXT CONSERVATIVES' CHAIRMAN

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 21 Feb 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Not Cheating But Tricks"]

[Text] The representative Jo Benkow has certainly got into the firing line. This gentle man has been tricked into running as chairman candidate for the Conservative Party, and those who try things like that must expect some fireworks from more than one side. In his own party there are people who are both surprised and shocked that he does not immediately stand up with a clear and categorical no to our present abortion law. In the Christian People's Party it is said that Mr Benkow is about to destroy the good presentation for a nonsocialist collaboration. And as if this were not enough, the well-known and sporty committee chairman from the Labor Party, Arvid Johanson comes out with a warning: "No. Jo!" [Translator's note: This is an untranslatable pun in Norwegian. This man's first name "Jo" means yes in Norwegian.]

Johanson's warning is about the tax attitude which Benkow has expressed. The chairman candidate of the Conservative Party has here actually let it go too far. He wants to reduce the taxes. He wants to stop the tax fleecing. He wants to do something about the marginal tax. He wants the "cake" which the government has available to become smaller.

Judgment day and what is worse must be approaching. It is not possible immediately to see the consequences of Mr Benkow's state-of-the-nation speech? Do we not hear the sound from the sad steps from thousands of unemployed? Do we not feel sorry when we hear crying mothers and starving children? Do we not react when old people lose their social security and sick people are thrown on the street? Have we not yet understood that if the government does not get steadily more income and the marginal tax becomes even more confiscatory, it is the end of all of us?

There should be a law prohibiting people from talking about lower taxes. And politicians who say things like that should be deprived of their offices and jobs with immediate effect. It should be possible to sentence whoever dares to maintain that tax fleecing is carried out with today's marginal taxation in accordance with the blasphemia paragraph.

It is the same hysteria which breaks out each time a sensible human being dares to call things by their correct names. It is true that man is the only animal who lets himself be fleeced several times. It is true that very large parts of the country's taxpayers--including Labor Party people--feel they have been fleeced when they see what they get back for extra efforts. And it is not true that it is the end of our country and all of us if reasonable and sensible reductions are carried out in the unreasonable rates. It is not true that we must keep our present tax systems and our present tax rules in order for society to operate properly. If it is not cheating, it is in any case foolishness to maintain that he who speaks up for reasonable taxation endangers employment and welfare and everything which is good. It is also an expression of foolishness when one "can understand" the prime minister when he talks about bumping into the tax ceiling, but immediately brings out the tag "reactionary" as soon as people from other parties take the subject up.

If we are to follow up in Johanson's typography, it would have to be with: Jo, Jo! and No, Arvid! [Translator's note: Another pun.]

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CONSERVATIVES' GROWTH IN RURAL AREAS MAY CAUSE PROBLEMS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 30 Jan 80 p 4

[Editorial: "What Does the Conservative Party Choose?"]

[Text] A characteristic feature in the Liberal Party's voter development in recent years has been the party's penetration in parts of the country, especially in rural Norway in the southern and western part of the country, where the Conservative Party previously has been very weak--both in voter support and in respect. These are areas which politically have been dominated by the old Liberal Party in western Norway, with Bent Roiseland from southern Norway as its foremost and finest exponent in the postwar period, and by the Christian People's Party. While the old Liberal Party in these areas was considered to be a political guarantee both for conservative and religious attitudes, the Conservative Party appeared not only as a city and upper-class party, but also as a cultured liberal party and, from a moral point of view, quite frivolous. It is quite typical that even the shipping owners in southern and western Norway have traditionally belonged to the Liberal Party, while in eastern Norway they have always had their political roots in the Conservative Party.

When the Conservative Party has made progress in areas of the country which formerly politically have generally been reserved for the intermediate parties, it is especially due to these parties themselves. The broad nonsocialist collaboration has had its price, a price which today must be paid primarily by the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. Through the broad collaboration they have helped to legitimize the Conservative Party--in a way they have made the Conservative Party respectable--for parts of the population which otherwise have stood especially far away from precisely this party. Last fall we had a municipal election where the Conservative Party entered the municipal administrations in one district after the other in these parts of the country. This took place primarily at the expense of the Christian People's Party. In any case it was this party which got its possibly biggest surprise in this election, also because the losses apparently came most unexpectedly for the Christian People's Party.

The traditional Conservative Party is a city party. When the party now tries to encompass wider spectra, it is clear that it also leads to internal political tensions which the party had not experienced earlier to the same degree. So far the Conservative Party has tried to solve the role as "a big party" by appearing with many faces, facades and profiles at the same time. For instance, the Conservative Party which tries to reduce public activity is not the same party as the Conservative Party which is ready to strengthen all popular public measures. The Conservative Party which talks about equality is not the same as the Conservative Party which shrinks back whenever important steps are to be taken to promote equality. The Conservative Party which favors abortion is not the same party as the Conservative Party which all the time wants to coordinate its standpoints in such fields with the Christian People's Party. The Conservative Party which talks warmly about nature protection is not the same party as the Conservative Party which already is just about ready to build nuclear power stations. The Conservative Party which wants to fight the narcotics problems is not the same party as the Conservative Party which uses all its vulgar agitation against the crime report. The Conservative Party which wants to present itself as a social party is not the same party as the Conservative Party which wants people to pay their own bills in the hospitals.

Over the long time the Conservative Party cannot live without problems as a big party with such a built-in dualism. When they are now starting a fight about the chairmanship (MORGENBLADET is honest enough to say straight out that it involves a fight), we believe that some of the background is precisely the development we have tried to outline here.

The two candidates for chairman are from the side of the election committee Jo Benkow--nationally known Conservative Party politician--and Hakon Randal--completely unknown to most people, even though they are trying to present him too as a national politician because he is a member of parliament.

Jo Benkow represents the traditional city Conservative Party, a businessman from Baerum and with comparatively liberal cultural-political and social-political points of view. When Benkow was moved from the social committee to the justice committee, the reason was possibly that the liberalism was about to go too far. It is a "public secret" that Benkow goes a long way in sharing the argumentation which lies behind the idea about self-determined pregnancy interruption. Here we also find some of the explanation why the Conservative Party women now are among Benkow's best support players.

Hakon Randal must be considered to be a typical representative of the rural parts of western and southern Norway, which somewhat surprisingly are on their way into the Conservative Party. He comes from Hordaland, is a school administrator, a supporter of Nynorsk and a personal Christian. We would almost say a person who is created for a chairman position in the Christian People's Party or in the old Liberal Party, but in the Conservative Party? This is probably a question which is asked with just as much interest (and a certain fear) in the center parties as in the Conservative Party itself.

We also predict that the Conservative Party will not get through this change in chairman without Kare Willoch's name cropping up.

FOREIGN AID OFFICIAL ROEM-NIELSEN: INDUSTRY MUST TAKE ROLE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Feb 80 p 25

[Interview with Director Rolf Roem-Nielsen, Norwegian Council on Foreign Aid, by Grete de Lange; date and place not given]

[Text] "My judgment has been and still is that foreign aid should be of used to the recipient country. Our aid program is not set up and will not be used to help Norway and Norwegian industry. But if industry can fit into a good aid program, with ventures and projects which are also of importance to Norwegian economic and industrial life, this will probably create a better understanding for foreign aid," Director Rolf Roem-Nielsen told AFTENPOSTEN.

Roem-Nielsen, who was formerly a director of the Federation of Norwegian Industries, is an adviser to NORAD [Norwegian Council on Foreign Aid] on the relationship between industry and foreign aid. He pointed out that it gives a stronger commitment and a stronger identification if we have an input in our aid program in which Norwegian firms are tied to the performance of specific tasks.

"We live more than ever in a world of change, which strongly affects our daily activity and our economic and industrial life. We must do some reevaluation and revision of priorities, both in our way of thinking and our way of acting. Our aid activities and methods can hardly be expected to remain untouched by all that and by political realities," he continued.

Foreign Aid Creates Jobs

[Question] NORAD's branch of NTL [National Norwegian Union of Professional Workers and Civil Servants] said in a letter that foreign aid has become commercialized, and that the original concept of foreign aid was in jeopardy. Your comments?

[Answer] The developing countries have become a part of the world's economy. It is no longer enough to contribute food and clothing. Broader cooperation must take place. Developing countries must have help to create jobs and an

industrial environment so that they can be self-sufficient. Critics point out that it is loan guarantees and credit arrangements which stimulate industry to go into developing countries. These are the arrangements approved by the Parliament. We in NORAD must react to decisions and signals from the national assembly and the government. Parliament has also decided that Norwegian goods must be used when it does not create a significant depreciation.

Rude Insinuation

I believe it is fine that there is a debate about our foreign aid and that NORAD personnel raise questions about whether principles and practices are in agreement. But NTL in its letter is shooting way over the target, even though I agree that a spade should be called a spade. It is rude of NTL to insinuate that NORAD is being pressured by industry and some politicians to put the stamp of approval on guarantees for export deliveries and projects, regardless of whether or not they are intended for development. It is rudeness toward colleagues who deal with these frequently difficult matters, rude to NORAD's administrative leadership and NORAD's management.

NTL claims in their letter that Norwegian industry is restrained from taking advantage of the positive attitude toward Norway which has resulted from the aid program. The goodwill which we claim to have in the developing countries because we have a foreign aid program with noble principles will hardly give any special benefit to our industry. It is not only price, quality, and noble attitudes which determine where the orders go. A number of special and general political and economic considerations and obligations also enter in. In the real world the realities are often entirely different than they seem to be when viewed from NTL's desk in NORAD.

Increasing Interest

[Question] How much interest is there in Norwegian firms for investing in developing countries?

[Answer] Interest is growing for the investment guarantees for political risk which are still available. Last year in NORAD 11 applications for investment guarantees were processed. We recommended approval of 10. The ones approved amounted to 7½ million kroner. They are small and medium sized projects in Brazil, Egypt, Philippines, Jamaica, Liberia, Nigeria, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, and Sri Lanka. Also, as to arrangements for loans, we had to concentrate on the smaller projects. We had only 50 million kroner available. If we had put it into a big project it would have run out. We received two or three applications for loans.

[Question] Are our methods good enough?

[Answer] I believe that we finally are beginning to use methods which can stimulate Norwegian industry to go into developing countries. But if industry is to go in, it must be profitable. It is clear that nobody wants to invest in a country where they are sure to lose. Now the possibilities for positive results are greater with the new support arrangements.

[Question] But are Norwegian firms international enough?

[Answer] I believe not. It is a question whether our companies have the capacity, economy, and personnel such that they can take the risks inherent in investment in developing countries. Dealing with developing countries is first of all a matter of export and import, not investment. The countries in which Norwegian industry has invested are not the poorest. It is unfortunate that we have not had sufficient resources to get more fully involved. If we are not involved in the development of these countries we will lose in the long run.

[Question] Which types of industry are most appropriate in this activity?

[Answer] I believe that small and medium companies are best. Many poor developing countries want large prestige projects. That is a problem. We cannot sell older, used machines there where they would be most appropriate. Developing countries most often prefer the most modern equipment available. This is again the entire debate over adapting technology.

Waiting In Line

[Question] What is the attitude of other industrial nations toward trade with and investment in developing countries?

[Answer] Most industrial nations stand in line to trade with developing countries. We will not tie up our aid funds in this way. I am in agreement in principle. The argument is that aid should not be tied up because this is damaging to the developing countries. But other countries have not followed Norway's good example. It is a question of how long we must wait in vain for all the others to change their policies.

9287
CSO: 3108

NEW TANDBERG REPORTS OF PROGRESS SINCE BANKRUPTCY

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 30 Jan 80 p 6

[Text] "The new Tandberg is not going to the government to ask for more money. There is no need for it," said Administrative Director Henning Skjold Larsen of Tandberg Company.

The provisional figures from the accountants show a deficit of 10 million kroner last year, but at most nine of these millions originated in the first six months.

"Today it is only the press and the financial institutions who connect something negative with the Tandberg name. Out among the users and the dealers the attitude is entirely different," said Skjold Larsen.

It has long been known that Tandberg has had difficulty obtaining a reasonable bank connection after all the concern about the bankruptcy last winter. Then when Tandberg made a development contract with Mobil of 25 million kronor, it looked like the firm would get its bank connections in order. Skjold Larsen denies that there is any direct connection between the Mobil contract and the more willing attitude of the banks.

"Before the Mobil contract arrived we had already received assurances from two banks which were willing to go along with an expansion which we plan in the company," said Skjold Larsen.

The contract with Mobil involves development and installation of an advanced information and training system at Mobil's education center in Stavanger. The contract also contains the installation of a future training center in North Norway.

The contract is regarded as a part of the entry ticket for Mobil's block assignments on the continental shelf north of the 62nd parallel. Mobil has a long-standing cooperation with Norsk Data, which is the main stockholder in the new Tandberg Company

After installation of the training center in Stavanger it is intended that the system be developed for use on oil platforms. The system will improve security routines, be an effective aid in catastrophic situations, and be used for news and maintenance programs. Besides their agreement with Tandberg, Mobil has given a provisional order for an additional 10 deliveries for its training centers over the entire world.

"Was this contract with Mobil the salvation of Tandberg" Could Tandberg have survived without this contract for 25 million kroner?

Director Skjold Larsen answers with an unconditional "yes" to the last question. "We could have managed without the Mobil contract. From a purely economic standpoint we were clear without it, and also could have counted on a surplus for this year. At the moment there is no existing need for capital at Tandberg," said Skjold Larsen.

First and foremost it is educational material that is going well. As to stereo products the factory managers report that it is too early to say much about this development, but they also expect a surplus in this area for the current year.

In a few weeks Tandberg will launch the new so-called 3000 series, an advanced stereo installation which will cost 30,000 to 40,000 kroner. In other words not a product for the average consumer. These expensive stereo sets are aimed at buyers in the United States and West Germany. According to Skjold Larsen the daughter companies in these two countries are thriving, and in the United States, Tandberg is in the process of building a comprehensive dealership network.

Tandberg has also purchased the production rights to color TV and moderately priced stereo products and radios. Production of color TV will start relatively soon, but the volume will be held to a modest level. As to the production of an inexpensive stereo and radio they have no current plans. But if it takes place it will be kept at a low cost, according to Administrative Director Henning Skjold Larsen.

9287
CSO: 3108

PAPER COMMENTS ON INCREASING ROLE OF OIL IN ECONOMY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Feb 80 p 2

[Editorial: "The Abundant Possibilities"]

[Text] Oil is gradually acquiring increasing importance in the Norwegian economy, in economic and industrial life and for the consolidation of a society with one of the highest living standards in the world. The parliamentary report on the activity on the Norwegian continental shelf gives a view in perspective of a development which is by no means without problems, but which now more than ever points out abundant possibilities. It is up to the political authorities to administer the oil empire in a manner that gives the best results for Norway and benefits the entire society. The goal must be to lay the foundation for a qualitatively better society. In other words, we must be sure that the result will not only be a rapid and uncontrolled growth in the use of material resources.

The Norwegian oil debate is not always full of great and all-embracing vision. The true perspectives all too easily disappear behind all the possible problems raised by the pessimists. Exploitation of oil and gas deposits in the North Sea would hardly have taken place if Norwegian oil policies had placed decisive weight on anxiety and fear, which has also arisen in the discussion of starting drilling north of the 62nd parallel. The demand for safety by the opponents of drilling rather simply means that we should immediately stop preparing for extraction of oil. Although they do not want that, there is still the risk of a new "blowout" of even larger dimensions than the Bravo blowout. We will always have to live with that risk. Everyone wants incomes of billions from this dangerous activity. We must therefore acknowledge that the opposition to starting drilling in the north is built on a doubtful base.

In the last parliamentary report one gets an overwhelming impression of what oil and gas means for the economy of Norwegian society. In the first half of the 1990's between 20 and 25 percent of the gross national product will come from the oil industry. Oil's portion of Norwegian export will be 40 to 45 percent. Gross production value is estimated to be between 100 and 125 billion 1975 kroner, while taxes and fees on the oil industry are expected to reach 45 to 60 billion kronor.

One of the most interesting and promising perspectives of the Norwegian oil industry is undoubtedly in the industrial and energy cooperation that the government is preparing. Controlling the sale of the oil and gas will be important in cooperation with other countries, including the Scandinavian countries.

We anticipate that the government will intensify the work of advancing vigorous development of Norwegian industry by using our oil and gas resources as one of many industrial-political tools. This position, which formed the foundation for the Volvo agreement in its time, should naturally be the starting point for new negotiations with Sweden, especially with reference to future utilization of Norwegian oil and gas north of the 62nd parallel. Also several other countries have given voice to a desire for Norwegian deliveries of oil and petroleum products as links in wider energy and industrial cooperation.

9287

CSO: 3108

OPINION POLL GIVES LOW MARKS TO ASSEMBLY, EANES DOES WELL

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 15 Mar 80 pp 4, 5

[Text] The Reason for EXPRESSO/NORMA's Six Questions

Following are the underlying reasons for the questions selected just 9 days ago by EXPRESSO to be used in the opinion poll that is being published today:

It was still considered important to ascertain the prestige rating of Gen Ramalho Eanes and Dr Francisco Sa Carneiro in the performance of their duties as president of the republic and prime minister. As was announced 2 weeks ago, EXPRESSO intends to assess these prestige ratings in the next opinion polls, so that it will be possible to find out how the Portuguese people react to the political activity of Eanes and Sa Carneiro between now and the preelectoral period.

The topic that has been on the agenda for the past 2 weeks is the possibility of the occurrence of a "military pronouncement," or "military coup d'etat." There has been so much speculation on the part of different political sectors regarding this topic that it was deemed worthwhile to learn what the Portuguese people think about the likelihood of such an event during the next 6 months of the nation's existence.

In the case of the Portuguese who thought that the occurrence of a "military coup d'etat" during the period in question was quite likely, or likely, it was important to learn whether they were associated with the right or the left.

A very timely subject is that of the criticism aimed by several members of the Council of the Revolution at the government, with respect to its political activity. How would public opinion react to this procedure on the part of members of the Council of the Revolution?

Finally, an essential organ in our political machinery is the Assembly of the Republic. The function of Parliament is to vote on laws and oversee the government. It has been in the news, both through the debate on ratification of the Fifth Government's legal documents, and through the

discussion of the challenges addressed by the opposition parties to the government in office. What do the Portuguese people think of this Assembly of the Republic, during the last 2 months of its activity: Has it been very effective, effective, rather ineffective or not at all effective?

Technical Specifications

Universe: Portuguese over 18 years of age, residing in the districts of Guarda, Evora, Coimbra and Lisbon.

Sampling: 100 interviews in each district.

Criterion for selection of the area of study: One district with a predominantly AD [Democratic Alliance] influence (Guarda: 61 percent AD); one district with a predominantly PS [Socialist Party] influence (Coimbra: 35 percent PS); one district with a predominantly APU [United People's Alliance] influence (Evora: 49 percent APU); and one district with a more equitable distribution of votes (Lisbon: 40 percent AD, 26 percent PS and 26 percent APU). The four districts represent 20 percent of the total voters.

Questionnaire: Questions supplied by EXPRESSO.

Interviews: Direct, personal, using a structured questionnaire, at the residences of those interviewed.

Selection: Random, using the "random-route method" for selecting the household, and the "Kish method" for selecting the individual interviewed.

Sampling points: 24 localities, selected at random, after a prior stratification based on district and habitat.

Field work: 8-10 March 1980.

Maximum margin of error on the total level: ± 5 percent in an interval of reliability of 95 percent and $p = 50$ percent.

Maximum margin of error on the district level: ± 10 percent in an interval of reliability of 95 percent and $p = 50$ percent.

Institution responsible for the research: NORMA, Portuguese member of Gallup International.

Eanes, High Marks Except in Evora

The first question was: "Personally, do you approve or disapprove of the manner in which Gen Ramalho Eanes is performing as president of the republic?" (See Table I)

In general, that performance was approved by 45 percent of those polled, with sectorial percentages of 45, 52, 20 and 44 percent, respectively, in Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora and Guarda. The favorable percentage and opinions were the lowest of the aforementioned percentages in Evora.

20 percent of those polled disapproved, with the highest unfavorable percentage in Evora (32 percent), followed by that of Guarda (22 percent), Lisbon (20 percent) and Coimbra (14 percent).

31 percent of those questioned claimed not to know, with the highest percentages in Evora (36 percent), Guarda (33 percent) and Lisbon (31 percent).

The percentage of those who did not respond is relatively low (4 percent), with the exception of the district of Evora, where it totaled 12 percent.

In general, the assessment of Gen Ramalho Eanes' position in the exercise of his duties as president of the republic continues to be positive.

On the other hand, the overall percentage of approval is approximately identical to that of the previous 15 days (46 percent); although the percentage of disapproval has increased from 12 to 20 percent.

Simultaneously, there was a 2-point drop in the percentage of those who did not know, and a 5-point drop in those who did not attempt to answer the question.

The comparison with regard to the district of Lisbon, which was also included in the previous opinion poll, is very interesting.

The percentage of approval increased from 42 to 45 percent, while that of disapproval rose from 17 to 20 percent. There was a reduction in the percentages of those polled who said they could not answer (from 32 to 31 percent) and of those who did not want to answer (from 9 to 4 percent).

When the district of Coimbra is compared with that of Porto, 15 days ago, the situation is slightly less favorable for Eanes (54 percent approval in Porto contrasted with 52 percent in Coimbra, and 8 percent disapproval in Porto contrasted with 14 percent in Coimbra). We are discussing two districts with a certain amount of electoral importance for the PS.

As for Guarda, the comparison with Viseu discloses very similar figures (15 days ago, Viseu had 34 percent approval, and Guarda now has 44 percent; Viseu has 14 percent disapproval, but Guarda has 22 percent). These are two districts with major electoral influence for the AD.

The results are clearly negative in Evora, where 32 percent disapprove of Eanes' orientation, and only 20 percent approve; this is in contrast to the figures in Beja, obtained 15 days ago (44 percent approval and 6 percent

disapproval). In short, Eanes' marks continue to be high, particularly in Lisbon, a highly sensitive political barometer. Evora appears to be an exception in this opinion poll, possibly reflecting one of the several effects of a marked electoral influence of the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] in that district.

Table I

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Approve	45	45	52	20	44
Disapprove	20	20	14	32	22
Don't know	31	31	27	36	33
No answer	4	4	7	12	1

Sa Carneiro: Positive Image in Guarda and Coimbra, But Waning in Lisbon

The second question in the opinion poll was: "Personally, do you approve or disapprove of the manner in which Dr Sa Carneiro is performing as prime minister and head of the government?" (See Table II)

The overall percentage of approval, relating of course to the districts under consideration (Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora and Guarda) is 33 percent, slightly below the overall percentage of disapproval, which is 34 percent.

This negative result is very evident in Evora, where there is 39 percent disapproval and 16 percent approval.

But it is also present in the district of Lisbon, where the percentage of those disapproving is 38, in comparison with that of approval (31 percent).

On the contrary, the result is positive in the district of Coimbra, where the percentages of approval and disapproval are 37 and 23, respectively.

Also positive, in a more marked fashion, is the result in Guarda, where 56 percent of those polled claim to approve the political performance of Sa Carneiro as prime minister and head of the government, and only 17 percent disapprove of it.

The percentage of those polled who said that they did not know was less than for the first question (28 percent), and the highest figures on those who gave this response were in Evora (33 percent) and Guarda (30 percent).

Only 5 percent did not reply, although the sectorial percentage in Evora was relatively high: 12 percent.

In fact, the attached table shows a high rate of prestige in Guarda, and to some extent in Coimbra as well.

On the other hand, the result is very negative in Evora, owing to the electoral orientation that predominates in the district, and it is also negative in Lisbon.

Moreover, insofar as Lisbon is concerned, a comparison can be made with the opinion poll 15 days ago, in which Francisco Sa Carneiro appeared with 32 percent approval and 28 percent disapproval. There is, therefore, a relative decline in his image with respect to Lisbon.

When the results for Coimbra are compared with those for Porto 15 days ago, the current ones are more favorable (37 percent approval in Coimbra contrasted with 39 percent in Porto 2 weeks ago, but 23 percent disapproval in Coimbra contrasted with 33 percent disapproval in Porto).

The figures relating to Guarda are also appreciably better than those obtained in the district of Viseu during the first opinion poll (it may be recalled that in Viseu the percentage of approval was 40, and of disapproval, 20 percent). The percentages for Guarda are 53 and 17.

In general, Francisco Sa Carneiro has more favorable percentages than Eanes in Guarda, and worse ones in Lisbon, Evora and Coimbra.

Stress should be placed on his positive assessment in a district with PS influence such as Coimbra; but the marked decline that he suffered in Lisbon is also noteworthy, possibly resulting from the intense political events during his last weeks, in which the government that he heads has been heavily involved.

Table II

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Approve	33	31	37	16	53
Disapprove	34	38	23	39	17
Don't know	28	27	27	33	30
No answer	5	4	13	12	

Military Coup d'Etat: Overwhelming Majority Thinks That It Will Not Occur

The third question that was asked was the following: "Recently, certain news media have mentioned the possibility of a "military coup d'etat" in Portugal. Do you consider a "military coup d'etat" in Portugal very likely, likely, rather unlikely or not at all likely, in the next 6 months? (See Table III)

An outstanding feature of the replies is that, out of all the questions asked, this was the one in which the percentage of those queried who said that they did not know was the smallest (27 percent, in contrast to 31 percent

regarding Eanes, 28 percent on Sa Carneiro, 48 percent on the members of the Council of the Revolution and 34 percent on the effectiveness of the Assembly of the Republic.

But the most prominent aspect of this question is the overwhelming percentage of those queried who consider the possibility of a "military coup d'etat" in Portugal during the next 6 months rather unlikely or even not at all likely.

The general percentage in this regard is 56 percent, in contrast to 15 percent of those queried who deem such a political occurrence very likely or likely.

In general, 32 percent of those questioned consider it not at all likely, with the highest percentage that encountered in Coimbra (48 percent), followed by Lisbon (32 percent), Guarda (17 percent) and Evora (12 percent).

As for those who consider a "coup d'etat" in Portugal likely in the next 6 months, the general percentage is 11, with the highest in Lisbon (11 percent) and the lowest in Coimbra (9 percent).

Finally, it is in the district of Evora that the percentage of those who consider such an event very likely is the highest (9 percent), with the lowest percentage in Coimbra (1 percent) and a relatively low average (4 percent).

When one examines Table III, it may be concluded that it is only in the district of Evora that the percentage of those who consider a "military coup d'etat" likely or very likely vaguely approaches the percentage of those who deem such a political evolution rather unlikely or not at all likely.

In all the other districts, an overwhelming majority state that there is little likelihood of a "military coup d'etat" in Portugal (64 percent in contrast to 10 percent in Coimbra, 59 percent in contrast to 16 percent in Lisbon and 36 percent in contrast to 16 percent in Guarda).

A fourth question asked of those queried who considered a "military coup d'etat" in Portugal during the next 6 months very likely or likely was aimed at ascertaining whether that coup was expected to be from the right or the left. (See Table IV)

The opinions were divided in a rather homogeneous manner: 30 percent thought that it would be from the right, and 31 percent expected it from the left, while 39 percent nevertheless said that they did not know.

In terms of districts, Lisbon and Guarda considered it more likely that the coup would be from the left (31 percent as opposed to 25 percent in Lisbon, and 67 percent as opposed to 25 percent in Guarda); whereas, in Evora and

Coimbra, the highest percentage thought that the coup would be from the right (69 percent as opposed to 19 percent in Coimbra, and 39 percent as opposed to 31 percent in Evora).

Note should be taken of the fact that the answer to this question must be viewed far more carefully than in the case of all the others, inasmuch as the total number of those queried is quite small: The question was only asked of those who were a minority, and who considered the occurrence of a "military coup d'etat" very likely or likely.

Table III

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Very likely	4	5	1	9	6
Likely	11	11	9	10	10
Rather unlikely	24	27	16	12	19
Not at all likely	32	32	48	12	17
Don't know	27	24	21	47	46
No answer	2	1	5	10	3

Table IV

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Right	30	25	69	39	25
Left	31	31	19	31	67
Don't know	39	44	12	30	17
No answer					

CR Versus Government: Negative Judgment

Another question prepared by EXPRESSO in cooperation with NORMA was this: "Various members of the Council of the Revolution have publicly criticized certain aspects of the present government's performance. Do you approve or disapprove of this procedure?" (see Table V)

A slight majority, based on the percentages in the four districts polled, considered that this public procedure on the part of members of the Council of the Revolution regarding the government should be disapproved.

Thus, 29 percent of those queried disapproved of it, as compared with 26 percent who approved of it.

However, in general, the percentage of those questioned who did not know is very high (40 percent), and that of those who did not answer is far lower (5 percent).

In terms of districts, whereas Lisbon and Guarda gave negative responses regarding the political conduct of the members of the Council of the Revolution, Coimbra and Evora had higher percentages of approval, although in a very limited manner, compared with those expressing disapproval.

In Guarda, 36 percent disapproved, and only 13 percent approved.

In Lisbon, the percentage of approval was 31, and of disapproval, 29 percent.

Conversely, in Coimbra 24 percent of those queried approved, and 22 percent disapproved.

In Evora, the percentage of approval was 17, and of disapproval, 15 percent.

Upon observing the percentages of those queried who claimed not to know, one notes that the lowest percentage was in Lisbon (37 percent), and the highest ones those in Evora (57 percent) and Guarda (48 percent).

In short, although the opinions are quite divided, the result is negative with respect to the utterance of public criticism on the part of members of the Council of the Revolution concerning the Sixth Constitutional Government.

As in the case of other questions, and also from the standpoint of its own electoral reality, Lisbon serves as a significant gage.

Table V

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Approve	26	29	24	17	13
Disapprove	29	31	22	15	36
Don't know	40	37	42	57	48
No answer	5	3	12	11	3

Assembly of the Republic: A Very Poor Political Image

The last question asked in this opinion poll was the following: "It is the function of the Assembly of the Republic to vote on laws and oversee the government. Do you think that its activity during the past 2 months has been very effective, effective, rather ineffective or not at all effective?"

The majority percentage of those answering this question have an obviously negative image of the Assembly of the Republic from the standpoint of its political effectiveness.

Thus, in general, 27 percent of those queried think that it is rather ineffective, 18 percent that it is ineffective, 15 percent that it is effective and only 4 percent that it is very effective.

Adding the percentages of those who consider it rather ineffective or not at all effective, we find the figure to be 45 percent, as compared with 19 percent representing those who deem it effective or very effective.

A total of 34 percent claim not to know (particularly in Coimbra, Evora and Guarda), and only 2 percent give no answer.

In terms of districts, it is in Lisbon that the negative judgment of the effectiveness of the Assembly of the Republic is most marked; because 49 percent of those queried consider it rather ineffective or not at all effective, and only 19 percent deem it effective or very effective.

Next is Coimbra, where 39 percent of those questioned have a negative opinion of Parliament, and only 14 percent have a positive view of it from the standpoint of the activity in which it is engaged.

In Evora, the percentage of those who consider the Assembly of the Republic rather ineffective or not at all effective is 35, and the percentage of those who rate its activity as effective or very effective is 11.

The situation presented by the district of Guarda is relatively unique: In this district, the opinions are divided in a relatively homogeneous manner between those who have a positive image of the Assembly of the Republic and those who have a negative image thereof (29 percent on each side).

23 percent consider it effective, 18 percent rather ineffective, 11 percent not at all effective and 6 percent very effective.

As for those polled who claim not to know, the largest percentage is in Coimbra (47 percent) and the smallest in Lisbon (29 percent).

Evora also has a high percentage of individuals queried who say that they do not know (44 percent), and a considerable percentage of individuals who do not answer (10 percent).

Moreover, in most of the questions, Evora shows the highest mean percentage of those polled who do not know or who do not answer.

In short, the overall result of the answers to the final question contained in the EXPRESSO-NORMA opinion poll is clearly unfavorable to the political image of the Assembly of the Republic with respect to its effectiveness, specifically in the fundamental areas of voting on laws and overseeing the constitutional government.

This unfavorable image is not shared entirely only insofar as the district of Guarda is concerned.

Lisbon, which serves as a significant gage in this realm as well, shows very high percentages of those polled who consider the Assembly of the Republic

rather ineffective or even not at all effective (33 percent and 16 percent, respectively).

It is possible that some of the reasons associated with this image of Parliament stem from the nature of the issues with which it has been concerned during the past 2 months: namely, the slow and rather unappealing processes of ratifying the decree-laws prepared by the Fifth Constitutional Government, a ratification instigated by the parliamentary majority.

Table VI

	Total	Lisbon	Coimbra	Evora	Guarda
Very effective	4	3	6	1	6
Effective	15	16	8	10	23
Rather ineffective	27	33	13	15	18
Not at all effective	18	16	26	20	11
Don't know	34	29	47	44	42
No answer	2	3		10	

2909
CSO: 3101

COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S POLICIES**Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 27 Feb 80 p 4**

[Interview With Santiago Carrillo, Spanish Communist Party Secretary General and Leader of European Communism, by 'Abd-al-Latif Yatim: "Leader of European Communism says: 'I View Iraqi Policy and Neutrality With Admiration and I Underline My Admiration for Iraq's Development Policy; We Support Palestinian People's Struggle and Their Right to Determine Their Future on Their Land; Our Solidarity With PLO in This Sphere Is Well Known; We Still Support Palestinian People's Just Struggle and Believe That As Long as Palestinian Issue Remains Unsolved World Peace Will Continue to Be Threatened With Danger; Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Calls for Socialist System for Arab World and Our Party Is Struggling for Socialist System; Our Two Parties Have Emerged in Two Different Countries But Two Parties Are Similar and Each Has Emerged As Result of Its Country's Needs and to Reflect Its Interest; Each Party Represents Its Country's Culture, Customs and Special Characteristics'"]

[Text] Following is the interview conducted by 'Abd-al-Latif Yatim with Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish Communist Party Secretary General and the Leader of European Communism, at the said communist party's headquarters in Madrid on Wednesday, 6 February 1980.

First, on Domestic Spanish Policy:

[Question] How does the Spanish Communist Party view the Gibralter issue and what is your opinion concerning the suitable solution for this problem?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Gibralter is a part of Spain even though it has been under the control of the United Kingdom of Britain for 2 centuries. This colony must be returned to Spain. However, Gibralter's population has undergone some changes. The inhabitants are not completely Spanish and they may enjoy a system of local government or autonomy and coexist with the other Spanish peoples within the Spanish entity. Naturally, this issue needs to be solved through negotiations and understanding. A solution satisfactory to Spain, Morocco, Algeria and the Western Sahara may also be reached if international negotiations are held to settle the issues of Gibraltar, (Sibtah and Malilah).

[Question] Mr Carrillo, do you consider that the Spanish-U.S. agreement on the military bases in Spain undermines Spanish sovereignty? Did the United States use these bases in the latest Arab-Zionist conflagration and do the existing agreements permit the United States to use these bases for its purposes in the Middle East? In case the bases are used, what will the Spanish Communist Party's position be?

[Answer] In principle, we are against the setting up of foreign military bases in our country. We believe that bases of the kind are an element that encourages wars. We are ready to approve termination of the U.S. bases in Spain if the Soviet Union dismantles similar bases it has in Europe. In accordance with the agreements between Spain and the United States, these bases may not, at least theoretically, be used in the Middle East conflict. However, the recently published press reports indicate that the aircraft that proceeded, and may proceed, to the Middle East have taken off from Spanish territories. We, the communists, have questioned Adolfo Suarez, the Spanish prime minister, on reports circulated by the press to the effect that the Spanish prime minister made during his recent trip to Washington commitments permitting U.S. aircraft to take off from the military bases in Spain for their targets in the Middle East. But it seems that Suarez is in no hurry to answer questions of this kind. If these bases are used by the United States in the future for its goals in the Middle East, we will oppose such action.

[Question] What are the benefits that Spain will gain from joining the EEC and what, also, are the damages resulting from this accession?

[Answer] In principle, we support Spain's accession to the EEC. Practically, Spain is in the EEC now. The Spanish government is holding negotiations to join the market. In our opinion, this kind of negotiations is damaging to Spain because of its method. We will express our opinion on the better method.

[Question] What is the Spanish Communist Party's position toward Spain's accession to NATO in the future?

[Answer] The Spanish Communist Party opposes Spain's accession to NATO. We believe that Spain should not align itself with either of the two blocs or camps. It must adopt the nonalignment policy and it can bolster its relations with the nonalignment movement countries.

[Question] Is it true that the Spanish left, including the Communist Party, is in favor of renewing the U.S.-Spanish agreement so as to keep the U.S. bases in Spain as an alternative to Spain's joining NATO?

[Answer] We believe that maintaining the U.S. bases in Spain is the lesser of the two evils. But as I have already told you, we are against the presence of foreign bases in our country in principle.

Second, Spanish Policy Toward Arab Homelands:

[Question] Mr secretary general, how do you evaluate the Spanish-Arab relations generally and the Spanish-Iraqi relations in particular?

[Answer] We can evaluate the Spanish foreign policy toward the Arabs positively. This is in harmony with our traditions and reality because strong historical bonds tie us to the Arabs. It is my opinion that the feeling of freedom and democracy that has emerged in the Arab sphere is in agreement with the same feeling existing in Spain. It is also my opinion that Spain should give the Arabs priority in its international alliances and I believe that there are still enormous possibilities for cooperation between the two sides. We have a common past that justifies a better cooperation in the future.

[Question] Mr Santiago, there is talk about good relations between the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Spanish Communist Party. How do you explain this?

[Answer] I explain this very simply. The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party calls for a socialist system for the Arab homeland and our party is also struggling for a socialist system. Even though each of our parties has emerged in a different country, they are both similar and each has emerged out of the needs of its country and to reflect its interest. Each party represents its country's culture, traditions and special characteristics. Despite this, the goal of both our parites is the same.

[Question] What is your opinion of the development movement being witnessed by Iraq, of the role that Iraq is playing within the nonalignment movement and of Iraq's neutrality between the two camps?

[Answer] I view the Iraqi policy and neutrality with admiration because a policy of this kind contributes to laying down the foundations of peace. I am familiar with Iraq's position within the nonaligned countries. I also underline my admiration for Iraq's development policy which is seeking to make use of the country's oil resources, contrary to other oil countries. I felt this during the short visit I made to Iraq last year. In this regard, I appreciate the Iraqi position which puts the oil wealth in the service of the people in contrast to other Arab states that tamper with the resources of their peoples that are exploited by a handful of people in these states, and at times by foreign forces.

[Question] What is the opinion of the Spanish Communist Party's secretary general of Iraq's persistent pressing upon the world community the need to find a new international economic system?

[Answer] I believe that the international need for a new international economic system is urgent and that all peoples, regardless of their systems and social classes, must reach an understanding on it. For Europe and for

the developing countries, the search for a new system means the establishment of equal relations with the oil exporting countries and with the third world countries exporting raw materials. These relations must be founded on clear and just bases. This means that we should pay prices reflecting the true value of oil, of raw materials and of technology. To put it better, the technologically advanced world must help the third world countries with technology so that these countries may be able to develop and to achieve a modern industrial level. This is in conflict with the interests of the multinational companies.

With equal exchange between countries, the third world countries will be able to achieve a better and a fairer standard. In recent years, there has been a lot of talk about the rising oil prices and I wonder: Who ends up with the enormous oil revenues? What is the party that benefits primarily from the oil trade and what is the party that possesses the lion's share of the oil revenue?

There is no doubt that they are the multinational companies--the seven major imperialist companies--which market the lion's share of the oil. In view of this situation, what is the logical solution? It is my opinion that a joint council of the EEC and the oil producing countries can be formed to determine the prices of commodities exchanged, consisting of raw materials and technology, on the basis of equality and equity. Thus, instead of having middlemen marketing the raw materials and reaping enormous profits at the expense of peoples, the marketing process and the trade exchange can be made between governments directly.

The issue of a new international economic system was an issue discussed during a recent meeting of our Central Committee because of the importance of this issue and of its priority over any other issue.

I again stress that there is an urgent need at present for a new system. Mankind can no longer withstand a European society living in over-abundance at a time when thousands die [starve] in many parts of the world. The western consumer society must understand the world's fundamental needs in other parts of this globe in order to be able to survive. Necessity may require a drop in the standard of living of Europe and of the west generally in order to raise the living standard in the third world that is marching on the path of development.

Thus, the new international system will undoubtedly project the need for economic balance between one part of the world and another and will establish some kind of solidarity among the European peoples. The communist parties must exert efforts in this direction, especially since the current international system has proven its failure. We should also stress to the working class that the party responsible for the rise in prices is not the oil exporting countries but a small handful of capitalist Europeans who are responsible for impoverishing the European workers.

Therefore, a new international system is a must for the third world as it is a must for the working classes of the industrially advanced countries where peoples live under conditions lacking in equality and justice.

[Question] What is the Spanish Communist Party's opinion of the Palestinian resistance and do you support their resistance to restore their land and to set up their independent state?

[Answer] Naturally, we support the Palestinian people's struggle and we support their right to determine their future on their land. Our solidarity with the PLO in this regard is well-known. We still support the Palestinian people's just struggle and we believe that as long as the Palestinian issue remains unsolved, world peace will continue to be threatened with danger.

[Question] What is the opinion of the Spanish Communist Party's secretary general of the repeated Zionist attacks against southern Lebanon and of Israel's continued occupation of the territories of other Arab countries?

[Answer] We, naturally, condemn the successive Israeli attacks, especially the recent attacks that have drained the Lebanese territories. We have also condemned the Camp David accords because they disregard the Palestinian people's rights. As long as the Palestinians remain outside their lands, the Middle East crisis will not be solved.

The Camp David trick has not been aimed at the Palestinian people alone but at the world public opinion also.

Third, Spanish Policy Toward Third World:

[Question] How do you evaluate Spain's policy toward the third world and why has this policy become the subject of opposition by the United States and by the West European countries also?

[Answer] I believe, as I told you at the outset, that the Spanish policy has been from the beginning completely independent of the two camps and that it has started to develop the Spanish relations with the third world countries at all the cultural, trade, economic and political levels. There have also been positive initiatives on the part of the Spanish government in this regard. As for the United States, it seems that it is not very pleased with a policy of this kind. The United States has upheld the belief that Spain must align itself with the U.S. policy and has exerted extensive pressures in this regard. I repeat that Spain is subjected to extensive pressures to prevent it from continuing its neutral policy. There are attempts for alignment with the U.S. policy.

[Question] What is the secretary general's opinion of the third world liberation movement? Is this movement receding or is it advancing and what are the better conditions that could enhance this movement's progress?

[Answer] We find the third world liberation movement in a state of progress at times and of recession at others. I believe that the big problem from which this movement is suffering is the transformation of some of its components into instruments in the hands of the major powers which use these components for their own purposes. The movement is, furthermore, still suffering from the conflicts existing among the major powers. In any case, I believe that the liberation movement has achieved considerable progress.

It is also regrettable that in many of the third world countries the movement is living under harsh conditions of persecution and oppression. I believe that it is right to aid these peoples and movements to achieve their goals without interfering in their internal affairs so that every people may have the opportunity to exercise their right to determine their future with utter freedom.

Fourth, Spanish Policy Toward Europe:

[Question] What is the role that Europe generally, and Spain in particular, can play to achieve a just solution to the Palestinian Arab problem?

[Answer] I believe that Spain and Europe can play a positive role in the Palestinian Arab issue when Europe becomes independent in its policy and stops being subservient to one camp or another. Europe will be then able to play a positive and effective role in this sphere.

Fifth, Spanish International Policy:

[Question] Mr Carrillo, we know that the Spanish Communist Party has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Is it your opinion that the Soviets have won or lost in this step of theirs and will the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan in the immediate or medium range? Will the new regime in Kabul be united and will it last in Afghanistan?

[Answer] I believe that the Soviet Union's international reputation has suffered as a result of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has created numerous problems for itself and this Soviet operation has been a losing and not a winning operation. I also believe that no regime that depends on foreign forces will be united, strong and lasting. It is my opinion that the entry of foreign units, as has happened in Afghanistan, is easier than their departure. We saw in the past cases similar to Afghanistan, namely the case of Vietnam.

[Question] What is your opinion of the creation of a U.S. military force in the Arab Gulf area and will this herald the eruption of a new war whose theater will be the Middle East? Will West Europe interfere in this likely conflict in the area?

[Answer] I believe that increasing the military forces in the Gulf area is something that will make matters more dangerous, especially in such an

important area as the Gulf area with its oil, and (will lead to) a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Naturally, I hope that the situation between these two powers will not erupt because the consequences will be serious and grave.

[Question] Is the European cooperation and security conference restricted to the European countries or are Asian, African and Latin American countries invited? What are the issues that this conference will discuss?

[Answer] The invitation is addressed to the European countries and to the United States. We are not involved in the issuance of the invitations. However, we wish that Asian, African and other countries would participate. I would also like to point out that the preparations for the conference in their present form exclude us from their calculations, as they exclude other European and African parties. Despite all this, we encourage the new initiative, whose goal is peace in the Mediterranean, by encouraging the Mediterranean basin countries to exert active efforts in this direction and to cooperate with each other to keep foreign fleets out of the Mediterranean and to keep this area free of the spheres of foreign influences and conflicts.

As for the issues that will be discussed by the said conference, they are not clear yet, especially since the Afghanistan issue has greatly affected the conference and since there are those who doubt the possibility of its convocation. It is my view that this conference should be held on schedule and that one of the urgent issues that it should discuss is the issue of drawing up a program for disarmament and for reducing tension in the world.

Sixth, European Communism:

[Question] Perhaps Mr Santiago Carrillo, the leader of European Communism, is the best man to define European Communism for us. Why this communism?

[Answer] European Communism is a Marxist current which emerged a few years ago, taking into consideration the historical experiences on the one hand and the relations among the European political forces on the other hand, as well as the need for a European revolutionary operation that undertakes the fundamental changes in the European society, especially since more than 60 years have passed on the Russian revolution without its meeting success in the European society and without being able to become a suitable model for the European societies to adopt. Despite our criticism of the social democracy which cooperates with the bourgeoisie, this democracy has succeeded in numerous European countries not because of its intelligence but because of our inability to find the ideal way to succeed in such societies. Therefore, we have had to follow an independent path that emanates from the intrinsic conditions of our European societies. On the other hand, the European Communism has found it impossible to attain power through the one party [system]. Therefore, efforts must be exerted with the other democratic forces to achieve the masses' goals in a manner that permits the minority

to express its opinion and to participate in power. In other words, the European Communism calls for freedom in all the religious, economic, political and other spheres. This means that European Communism is collective socialism and cannot be confined to one group to the exclusion of others. Our opinion of socialism is that it should not belong to one party that implements it. Socialism is a necessity connected with technology's development of the means of production in our age. On the other hand, we believe that it is possible in countries like the European countries to reach socialism through democratic ways. We also believe that the struggle for socialism in Europe [should be] through the democratic establishments and should emanate from the intrinsic conditions of each country. Socialism will not rise in a European country through the defeat of the Soviet Union, of the United States or of others but can be realized through cooperation among the peoples.

[Question] Has the European Communism lost its cohesion recently, especially in the wake of the French Communist Party's position toward the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan?

[Answer] I believe that the Afghanistan issue has been a factor in the complications between the European Communism parties and the French Communist Party. You are aware of the harmonious positions between the Italian and Spanish communist parties in this regard. However, I don't wish to make further explanations in this regard.

[Question] The nature of the differences among the main parties in the European Communism?

[Answer] Well, the most significant difference existing between the French Communist Party and the Spanish Communist Party is the difference in views on the issue of Afghanistan. The French party supports the invasion and the Spanish party opposes it.

On the issue of Spain's accession to the EEC, the French party opposes this accession and the Spanish party supports it.

There may be other differences.

[Question] What is the position adopted by the European Communism parties toward the issue of deploying nuclear missiles in Europe?

[Answer] I believe that all the European Communism parties are in agreement on this issue and have a united position toward it. They oppose the deployment of these missiles in Europe because we believe that balance between the two powers cannot be realized by increasing the weaponry on one side and not the other. We are supporters of the negotiations to seek and maintain a balance.

For example, if the Soviets are superior to the Americans in armament, then we believe that this is a scandal, an excess and a waste of big financial resources. Second, the stockpiling of weaponry in one country and not the other will undoubtedly lead sooner or later to supplying such weapons to other countries in the third world, such as the Middle East for example. As for the American proposal to deploy nuclear missiles in Europe, we believe that it is nothing but a kind of cleverness because the Americans wish to export war from their country to Europe and wish to keep the United States on the periphery of the war, as happened in the previous two world wars.

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FINAL 1979 UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES SHOW CONTINUED INCREASE

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 4 Mar 80 p 55

[Text] The number of unemployed persons in Spain showed a considerable increase during the fourth quarter of 1979, and at the end of that year there were 1,334,200 persons without work in the nation, which amounts to 10.14 percent, up from 9.43 percent for the third quarter of the year, when 115,200 fewer persons were out of work. These figures come from the preliminary report on the census of employment carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE).

Although these figures will have to be checked against the final INE figures, the preliminary report confirmed yesterday the Spanish economy's general trend in recent years to fail to generate enough jobs to absorb the growth, which this time is a small one, of the working population. According to INE, the employable population went up somewhat from 13,105,100 for the third quarter to 13,155,200 for the fourth quarter. That is, the active population grew by 50,100 persons, while the number of persons who lost their jobs grew by 65,100.

Along with this report there was the release by the Bank of Spain in its Economic Bulletin of confirmation yesterday of its December analysis to the effect that the Spanish economy grew only between 1.5 percent and 2 percent in 1979, a growth which by all accounts is insufficient to counter the upward rise of the unemployment curve. Almost 300,000 persons lost their jobs in 1979 as a result of the substantial reduction in the nation's economic activity.

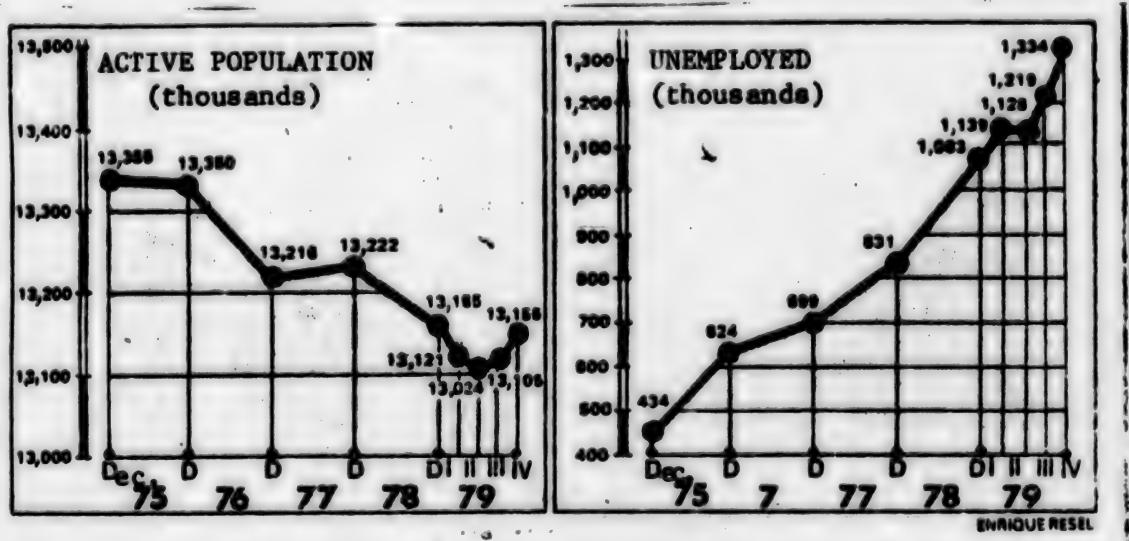
The INE preliminary report on the working population notes that there are 11,700,000 active persons and another 120,000 are marginally active. These figures are lower than those for the third quarter and also those for the fourth quarter of the previous year.

The growth in the number of unemployed was particularly sharp in the industrial sector, where the rise was 13.20 percent. Almost all sectors reported increases in the number of unemployed, especially industry and to a lesser degree construction and services.

Comparisons show that the figures for the last quarter of 1979 indicate that the Spanish economy, which grew little during 1979, will continue producing unemployment in 1980, a year with much bleaker economic prospects even than the past. The unemployment level of 10.14 percent is above what was predicted at midyear by the Ministry of Economy, when the expectation was that about 1.25 million persons would be out of work, and higher also than the peaks reached in other European nations since World War II.

Active and Unemployed Populations in 1978 and 1979

	4th Qtr '78	2nd Qt ^r '79	3rd Qtr '79	4th Qtr '79
Active population	13,165,600	13,024,000	13,105,100	13,155,200
Employed persons	11,970,700	11,802,300	11,786,500	11,700,000
Marginally active	110,600	93,800	99,400	120,000
Unemployed:	1,083,300	1,128,000	1,219,200	1,334,200
Agriculture	101,600	100,200	90,300	91,700
Industry	167,300	184,600	189,400	214,400
Construction	202,300	222,500	237,300	263,000
Services	194,200	202,600	217,600	235,700
Seeking first job	417,900	418,000	484,700	529,500



11,989
CSO: 3110

COMMENTARY ON ECONOMIC STABILITY, UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Mar 80 p 9

[Text] Prices, which rose suddenly and successively following the economic decisions made in Turkey on 25 January, are slowly beginning to stabilize.

Granted, by this we do not mean to say that a "price reduction" has been observed or that prices will decline to their level of 2 years ago. However, business circles, who witnessed a decline in their sales following the rapid and needless price hikes, have begun to feel the necessity of being satisfied with reasonable profits.

Actually, had foreign assistance been obtained immediately following the devaluation, the import gate opened and the domestic market set completely free of control without the creation of a competitive milieu, the cost of living would not have reached the level it is at today. Be that as it may, the hope of stability has belatedly emerged.

For example, the plausibility of foreign assistance having been obtained or of it being in the offing led to something of a drop in prices, particularly in the import goods market. In fact, a downward trend has been observed in recent months even among chemicals whose prices had risen the most.

On the other hand, we want to point out that the implementation of a judicious money and credit policy also played a part in achieving this stability. For example, although the financial needs of business had grown tremendously following the devaluation, the currency issue was not increased until the beginning of March and this "money squeeze" prevented speculation to a certain extent. Consequently, although 9 billion lira was put into circulation during the first 2 months of last year, this year the increase remained at only 2 billion lira.

In addition, there has been a slight increase in exports. These are all favorable developments.

Yet, it still cannot be said that the economy, which is in a state of paralysis, has been revived. In particular since industrial establishments have not been able to reach the level of production desired and not even a brief period of confidence has been created in consumption.

On top of that, it is not known what will happen to the currency issue after March following the increase in public servants' salaries.

Most important of all is that variable which prevents the wheel of production from turning and which threatens today's economy; spreading strikes and slowdowns....

It is a great misfortune that the large devaluation and the subsequent price hikes occurred prior to the collective agreement period because the labor sector demands in various branches of business appear to be increasing gradually in response to the rising cost of living.

The persistent disruption of labor peace and the successive strikes and lockouts in the textile and metal product sectors in particular have reached dangerous proportions. If the strike threat is realized at the 185 work sites that fall within the purview of these two branches of business there will be no increase in production whatsoever, even if the money is forthcoming, and all of the painstaking measures which were taken to promote exports will remain on paper.

Furthermore, the continuation of these strikes and lockouts will lead to the unemployed pouring out into the streets of this nation and will delay economic recovery.

For this reason we see the strain in labor peace during this period, when production and exports need to be increased, as being very dangerous and we believe that both sides must reach an agreement as soon as possible by way of reciprocal concessions.

If the Turkish economy is forced to go through the bitter experience which was caused by strikes in Britain and Italy 5 years ago, then the measures that have been taken will, unfortunately, have no beneficial effect. In fact, it seems that this time even foreign assistance will not be enough to save Turkey from the jaws of the behemoth of inflation.

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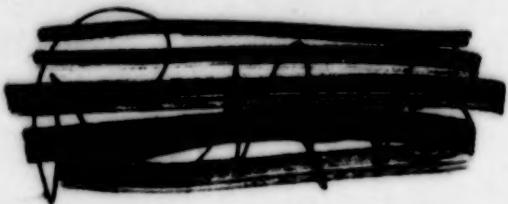
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